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Lingua Franca: A mixed language or jargon used in the Levant, consisting largely of Italian words deprived of their inflexions. Also *transf.* Any mixed jargon formed as a medium of intercourse between people speaking different languages. *Fig.* 1870 LOWELL, *Among my bks.* Ser. I. 170 "What concern have we with the shades of dialect in Homer or Theocritus, provided they speak the spiritual *lingua franca* that abolishes all alienage of race?"

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Lingua Franca (ISSN 1051-3310) is published bimonthly (Jan./Feb., Mar./Apr., May/June, July/Aug., Sept./Oct., Nov./Dec.). © 1996 in the USA by **Lingua Franca, Inc., 22 West 38th Street, New York, NY 10018** Telephone: (212) 302-0336; Fax: 302-0847. All rights reserved.
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Subscription Orders, changes of address, subscription inquiries: Lingua Franca, Subscription Dept., P.O. Box 3000, Denville, NJ 07834; (800) 783-4903
E-Mail: 76200 414 @ compuserve.com
Back Issues: \$6 U.S.; \$7 Can./Mex.; \$8 other foreign. All orders prepaid.
Newsstand Distribution: Eastern News (800) 221-3148 or (419)-627-1316
Postmaster: Send address changes to Lingua Franca, Subscription Dept., P.O. Box 3000, Denville, NJ 07834. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.

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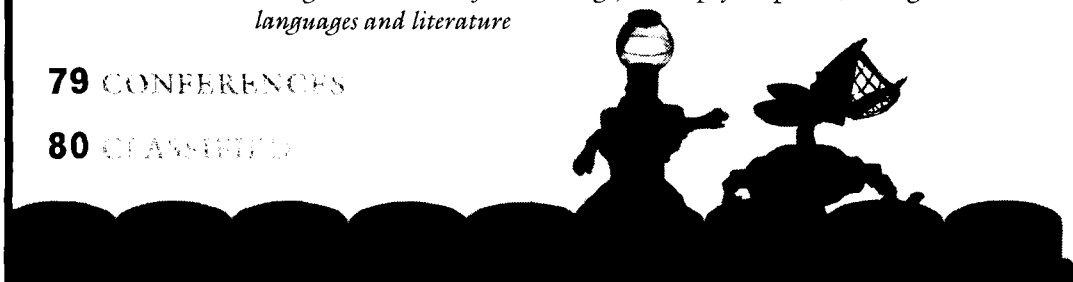
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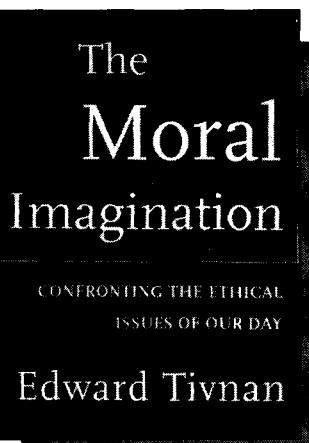
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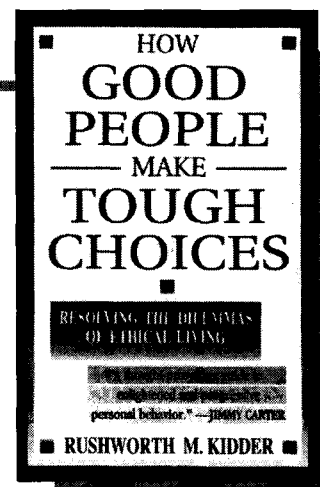
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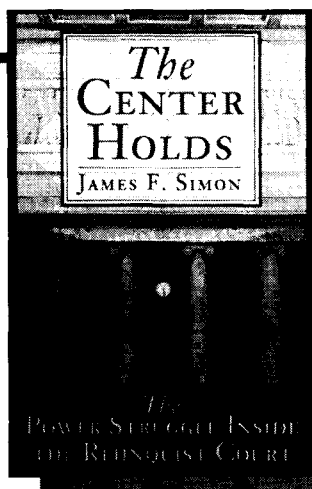
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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SIXTIES SOMETHING

I enjoyed Rick Perlstein's "Who Owns the Sixties?" [*LF*, May/June]. But I was struck by the near absence of any discussion of Gay and Lesbian politics and culture in the piece. An assessment of the Sixties that overlooks this transformation of the social, political, and cultural landscape is flawed. The lacuna is surprising given the ways in which a focus on issues of sexual difference can complicate the received interpretations of the period—those very interpretations which your article put into question. I would hope that those revisionist scholars featured in the piece who have set themselves the task of "setting the record straight" do not take their tasks too literally.

**TERENCE KISSACK,
GRADUATE CENTER, CUNY**

The unkindest cut of all in Perlstein's article comes when he describes me as a historian of the Sixties, former SDSer, and Woodstock veteran, "now 49." In truth, I'm 45—all of six years older than that Rebel Against the Sixties Establishment, David Farber. How the "generation gap" has shrunk.

Despite Perlstein's fair-minded intentions, his piece follows a near-irresistible path toward a foregone conclusion. How many journalists could resist the rich ironic possibilities embedded in the saga of one-time youthful revolutionaries becoming aging defenders of stale orthodoxies? Perlstein describes how in 1987, with the publication of books by myself, Todd Gitlin, and James Miller, the interpretation of the Sixties as a progression from "good" to "bad"—the "Gitlin-Miller-Isserman narrative arc"—became the orthodox interpretation of the decade. Then along came a new generation of historians, who, as "outsiders" unburdened by their own memories of

an emotional attachment to the Sixties, finally began to put the era into fresh and true perspective.

It's a good story, but not entirely accurate. SDS veterans writing in the late Eighties—including myself—anticipated virtually every criticism raised in Perlstein's article. The current debate over Sixties scholarship can be best, if not most dramatically, described in terms of historiographical sequence. The first historians to tackle any given field are by necessity going to turn to the most extensive and accessible archives, which in this case meant writing an organizational history of the New Left centered on SDS. Later arrivals are free to sneer at the old-timers' preoccupation with "elites" at the expense of the good, simple common folk out there in the hinterlands, if they choose to do so—but they also enjoy the luxury of building on previous work.

Maybe I'm missing something, but I don't see any enormous theoretical or interpretive divide separating Gitlin-Miller-Isserman from the "new Sixties scholarship." Certainly not as it is practiced by those younger historians in the field whose work I most admire, including Tom Wells, Alice Echols, Beth Bailey, Doug Rossinow, and Tom Sugrue. What we're dealing with here is a scholarly division of labor—not generational warfare.

Give peace a chance.

**MAURICE ISSERMAN,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
HAMILTON COLLEGE**

Rick Perlstein uses my words to support the argument that we're facing a generational divide among scholars of the Sixties. My major criticism of Sixties historiography—its privileging of the New Left—grew out of my desire to see race and gender written into histories of the period. This argument isn't the result of a generational divide. After all, at the age of 45, I am a baby boomer myself.

Although I respect the work of many of

the younger scholars quoted in Perlstein's article, I don't buy their argument that older scholars are jealously guarding their own romanticized versions of the Sixties. After all, Todd Gitlin, James Miller, and Maurice Isserman hardly idealize the New Left. And on the topic of the Right, the first person I know of to take scholars to task for ignoring Sixties conservatism was Joshua Freeman in a 1989 essay in *Radical History Review*—a journal where Sixties vets have been known to wield some influence.

**ALICE ECHOLS,
VISITING ASSOCIATE
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, USC**

USA FOR AFRICA

Jacob Heilbrunn's "The News from Everywhere" [*LF*, May/June] deals very well with one aspect of area studies—the foundations who fund it. But it largely leaves out the field's academic practitioners. As someone who has been involved, academically rather than bureaucratically, in African studies from the late 1950s on, I think that the picture needs filling out. For example, in the case of African studies, one might look at the academic culture that area studies spawned and at some of the effects of that culture on those who were being studied, written about, and, not least, talked about, namely, Africans. From this perspective, the dominance of the American national interest—visible as it may be from a bureaucratic perspective—fades into insignificance.

The conventional American scholarly wisdom on Africa has always asserted that African economic development had "obviously" to be government-controlled, and has always believed that the one-party state was "obviously" adaptive to African realities. The histo-

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Field Notes

BAD CHEMISTRY



Seven years ago, the American Chemical Society gave the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History \$5.3 million to mount a permanent exhibit on "Science in American Life." The ACS, the principal voice for academic and industrial chemists in the United States, naturally expected that the museum's curators would create something uplifting—a bells-and-whistles affair that would attract young people to scientific careers, and provide a permanent home for some of the showpieces of modern technology. What they got was a show that looked to some chemists like it had been scripted by the Unabomber.

"Over the past 125 years, most Americans came to believe that science and tech-

"We should have realized the exhibit was loaded for a fallow deer."

nology inevitably brought progress," announced a label at the entrance to the 13,000-square-foot permanent exhibition. "As the 20th century ends, people are less sure of this. They realize science can entail hazards as well as benefits."

Make that *many* hazards—such as chlorine gas, radiation, genetic engineering, and even the Pill, which dominated an entire wall of the exhibit. "By the 1960s," a label there said, "some critics had begun to denounce the Pill as a tool of oppression that

would limit populations selectively by race and class."

Then there was the section called "Mobilizing Science for War, 1940-1960": Visitors walked past a mockup of Enrico Fermi's prototype reactor and came face to face with five photographs of towering mushroom clouds. Below the photos, at eye level, hung five images of burned flesh, twisted wreckage, and the outlines of human beings who were vaporized by the blast. Visitors then proceeded into the section on nuclear testing, where an unarmed hydrogen bomb casing and a device for testing radiation levels were suspended from the ceiling.

This was not exactly what the ACS had in mind.

And now, after several years of behind-the-scenes bickering, the society is airing its gripes in public. In an editorial in the March 11 issue of *Chemical & Engineering News*, ACS chairwoman Joan Shields scalds the exhibit, calling it a "revisionist historical display of science as a litany of moral debacles, environmental catastrophes, social injustices, and destruction by radiation."

The lesson Shields draws is that potential donors should be wary of giving to the museums on the Mall. "As one of the largest single donors to the Smithsonian," she concludes ominously, "ACS feels an obligation to alert other potential private and corporate donors to the problems they will confront." This warning comes at a time

of declining congressional appropriations, when the institution is seeking to raise tens of millions of dollars from the private sector.

Smithsonian officials remain largely unfazed. "What [the ACS] wanted was an exhibit that presented 'heroic science,'" says one curator. "They thought they should have had their trade show, and instead they got an historically accurate exhibit." And in a sense, the ACS did get exactly what it paid for: The society's contract with the Smithsonian gave curators final say over the exhibit's content. An advisory committee made up of scientists and science historians—half appointed by the ACS, half by the Smithsonian—was set up to offer guidance.

From early on, however, there was trouble. "We should have realized the thing was headed for a shipwreck," says Spencer Weart, a University of Maryland physicist who was on the advisory committee. "It became clear that the exhibit as it was being made was going to be wholly unsatisfactory to scientists." A Smithsonian curator who didn't work on the show agrees: "There were people in influential positions in the museum who, for whatever reason, wanted to thumb their noses at the scientific establishment."

One display that particularly annoyed the scientists was the first stop in the show: a re-creation of the pioneering chemistry laboratory established at Johns Hopkins in

1876. At a lab bench, professor Ira Remsen and a researcher, Constantin Fahlberg, are shown working on their discovery of saccharin, which Fahlberg later patented. Visitors who pressed a button could hear the two mannequins speak—sparring over who deserved the credit.

But the biggest complaints had to do with a 1950s nuclear fallout shelter, which the Smithsonian had dug out of a donor's front yard in Fort Wayne, Indiana; the curators wanted to include it as a companion piece to a plasticized 1950s house. The scientists on the advisory committee were furious. "Every time we'd come back, they'd say, 'You still have that fallout shelter, and we told you to take it out,'" says a curator. In the end, the shelter stayed, but the battle lines hardened.

Through it all, the ACS remained publicly silent. In fact, when the show opened in April 1994, the chemists' group threw a lavish party to celebrate the exhibit's opening. Behind the scenes, however, ACS honchos were demanding no less than forty changes. The museum came back with a list of thirty-five changes that it said it would make—but only if the ACS coughed up another \$400,000. To alter one label, the museum quoted a cost of \$4,205, according to the ACS's Joan Shields.

"It certainly is not a stickum label," explains museum spokeswoman Tensia Alvirez. "It is far more intricate."

After a mediator failed to work out the differences between the two camps, the ACS broke off talks last December. Says a disenchanted observer: "Both sides started focusing on minutiae—a sentence here, a particular image there."

In any case, the die was cast: By the time the talks ended, the ACS had already signed the last check for the exhibit. "Twice a year, for five years, ACS had the power to pull the money plug," says a curator of the show. "If they didn't like it,

they could have stopped it. We couldn't go on without their support. At every stage, despite serious disagreements, they went on."

On its own, the museum has decided to make eight changes. Among them: the Remsen-Fahlberg dialogue has been shut off; a few labels, including the one questioning the Pill, have been changed; some nice things will be said about penicillin and the war on cancer.

Will anyone notice? Maybe not. In the ongoing debate over museums and public

memory, it's often forgotten that exhibitions don't always deliver the messages that their curators intend. A recent Smithsonian survey showed that the average visitor spent only about 15 minutes in the "Science in American Life" exhibit. And though the exhibit ends with a section on biotechnology that asks, IS IT SAFE? IS IT RIGHT? WHAT CAN YOU DO?, only 2.6 percent of museumgoers thought the show was trying to say that scientific progress entails serious risks.

BILL GIFFORD

FANTASY ISLAND

Most anthropologists would be happy never to hear the words "Derek Freeman" again. But the pugnacious Australian ethnographer is back—at least Down Under—thanks to a new play about his sustained critique of Margaret Mead.

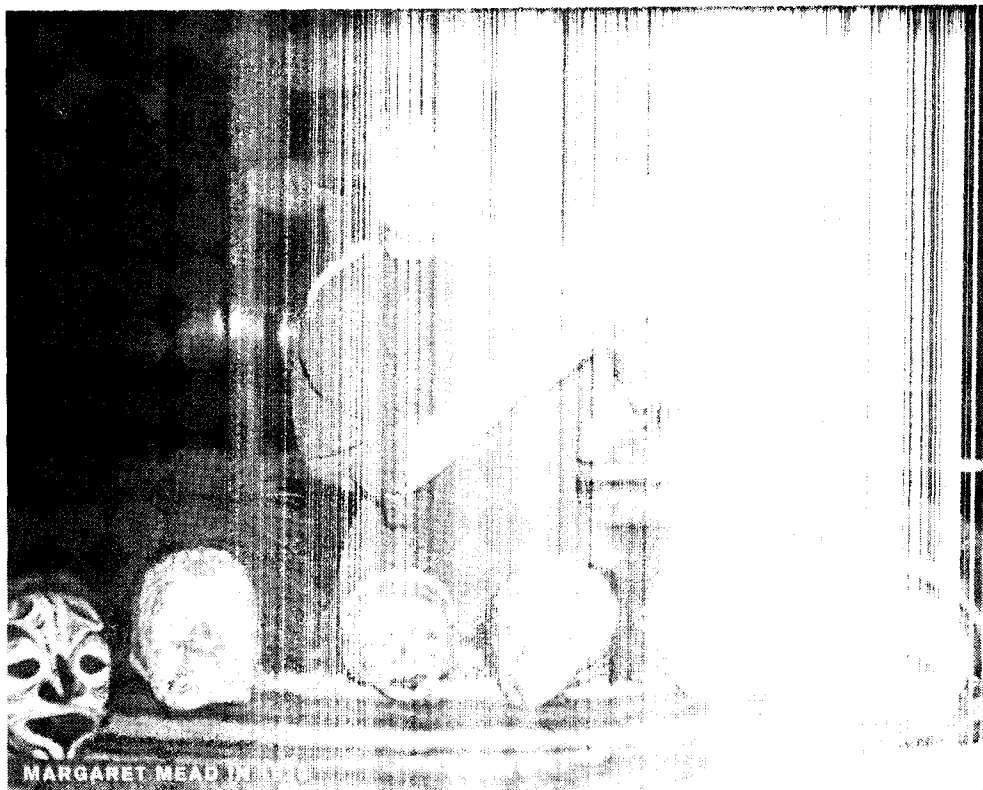
David Williamson, Australia's preeminent dramatist, comes to Freeman's defense in his play *Heretic*, which debuted this past April to fanfare and sellout crowds at the Sydney Opera House. On stage, Freeman is depicted as a lone-wolf eccentric who is savaged by the anthropological tribe when he publishes his 1983 polemic, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Harvard). Off stage, the theater

In the new play *Heretic*, Derek Freeman is depicted as a lone-wolf hero savaged by the anthropological tribe.

hawked a variety of pro-Freeman products, from souvenir programs that served as primers against "Mead-ism" to T-shirts emblazoned with the slogan SEX, LIES, AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

On these shores, Williamson's play might not provoke such enthusiasm. As few observers of the social sciences can forget, Freeman received a frosty response when he argued that Mead's best-sell-

ing *Coming of Age in Samoa*, published in 1928, was a classic case of botched field work. Freeman retraced Mead's 1925 trip to the Pacific islands and spoke to Samoans who testified that they had pulled the young anthropologist's leg when answering questions about their sex lives. The result of their practical joke, according to Freeman: Mead mistakenly concluded that Samoan teenagers practiced free love under the palm trees—without angst, jealousies, or other travails of American adolescence. Inspired by this portrait of blissful Samoan youth, Mead's followers embraced an "absolute cultural determinism" that all but ignored biological factors in human behavior. Or so said Freeman.



MARGARET MEAD IN

sity.") While scholars grant that Mead's ethnography was, as historian George Stocking puts it, "seriously flawed," Freeman's condemnation of all cultural anthropology as hostile to science has won him scant support—and made many enemies.

Playwright Williamson clearly feels for the embattled scholar. "Derek took on a profession in which the *tabula rasa* brain was so entrenched," he says, "that to question it was to be vilified in the most unpleasant way." He praises him as "an intellectual pioneer of great importance."

When Freeman, an adopted Samoan village chief, published these arguments five years after Mead's death, anthropologists lashed out at him for, as he puts it, "eviscerating the totemic mother." Scholars branded Freeman a boor, protofascist, and sociobiologist; delegates to the American Anthropological Association's 1983 convention passed a motion of censure against him. Tempers have cooled over the years, but Freeman still remains an object of contempt in most anthropology circles. (Or condescension: Rice's George Marcus has called Freeman's magnum opus a "mere cur-

Yet for all his play's success, David Williamson is not at all pleased with the Sydney Opera House production—which is, he says, full of "campy and trivialization." In his stage directions, Williamson set the action of *Heretic* in a hallucinogenic dream in Freeman's head, occasioned by his horrified memory of the Sixties, "Mead's most fabulous legacy." To the director, Wayne Harrison, that suggested LSD. So Harrison

went with lush psychedelic colors, costumes, and textures, and chucked in musical excerpts from *Hain*. During some scenes, the actors recline on kandy-colored beanbags.

On paper, Williamson depicts Mead as an earnest but misguided young scholar. In the show, she comes across a bit more colorfully: The actress portraying Mead appears dressed in the various guises of presumed soul sisters Marilyn Monroe, Jackie O, and Barbra Streisand (complete with schnozz). In an equally curious move, Harrison decks out Mead's mentor Franz Boas in a salmon-colored suit, yellow and black cowboy boots, and red bowtie. At the play's climax, a giant rubber head looms Oz-like over the stage, representing "Samoan Woman."

Williamson feels his work has been distorted and has even considered seeking a court injunction to shut down the production. But perhaps even a traditional staging wouldn't shed much new light on the Samoan saga. Despite the fact that

Williamson conducted extensive interviews with Freeman, *Heretic* appears to have been culled largely from the Movie-of-the-Week playbook. Why did Mead wishfully cast the islanders as sexually unfettered? To please father-figure Boas, of course. Similarly, Freeman is portrayed as having had so smothering a mum that it is no wonder he went after the mother of anthropology. Perhaps the biggest surprise in *Heretic* is the revelation that Freeman endured serious mental-health problems while conducting research in Samoa. (On stage, the Freeman character says: "I had a powerful psychological abreaction.") Frankness on this subject was long overdue; many Mead supporters have suggested *sotto voce* that Freeman's psychological battles provide the true explanation for his animus towards Mead. In the end, Williamson suggests that these problems, while serious, did nothing to undermine Freeman's scholarship.

As for the eighty-year-old Freeman, he absolutely loved the Sydney production of *Heretic*—sitting through the show five times. Marilyn and Barbra notwithstanding, Freeman is thrilled by anything that helps the world understand why he is right and Mead was wrong. To capitalize on the publicity surrounding the new play, Freeman's Australian publisher has just published a second edition of his 1983 broadside. The book is now titled *Franz Boas and the Flower of Heaven: "Coming of Age in Samoa" and the Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead*. And it's dedicated to David Williamson.

PETER MONAGHAN

THE PROSE MAKES THE MAN

Back in May of 1994, Denis Dutton was fed up with his favorite Internet discussion group. "As much as I've relished the PHIL-LIT exchanges on jargon and plain style," Dutton wrote, "I still feel that too much of the discussion seemed bent on trying to justify or excuse jargon where no excuse is possible."

So he didn't get mad. He got even.

Dutton, a philosopher of art at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand, decided to inaugurate the PHIL-LIT Bad Writing Award. In a message broadcast over the Internet, he promised free (and, presumably, well-written) books to the two of his colleagues who could come up with "the ugliest, most stylistically awful single sentence—or two, or at most three sentences—out of an academic book or article." Not an easy task, but Dutton is possessed of a singular moral authority to do the judging: As editor

of the unfailingly elegant review *Philosophy & Literature*, he once ran an entire exegesis of Gilles Deleuze which only featured two short quotes from Gilles Deleuze.

This year Dutton awarded his tarnished gold medal to David Spurrett, a South African philosophy graduate student who plucked the winning sentence from *Plato Etc.* (Verso), the newest book by the iconoclastic British theorist Roy Bhaskar. The winning sentence is a barbed attack on Plato (or Hegel, it's not clear which):

Indeed dialectical critical realism may be seen under the aspect of Foucauldian strategic reversal—of the unholy trinity of Parmenidean/Platonic/Aristotelian provenance; of the Cartesian-Lockean-Humean-Kantian paradigm; of foundationalisms (in practice, fideistic foundationalisms) and irrationalisms (in practice, capricious exercises of the

will-to-power or some other ideologically and/or psycho-somatically buried source) new and old alike; of the primordial failing of western philosophy, ontological monovalence, and its close ally, the epistemic fallacy with its ontic dual; of the analytic problematic laid down by Plato, which Hegel served only to replicate in his actualist monovalent analytic reinstatement in transfigurative reconciling dialectical connection, while in his hubristic claims for absolute idealism he inaugurated the Comtean, Kierkegaardian and Nietzschean eclipses of reason, replicating the fundamentals of positivism through its transmutation route to the superidealism of a Baudrillard.

Ironically, Spurrett is himself a great admirer of Bhaskar, the very man he nominated as the worst academic writer alive. Is this apostasy? A stab in the back of an erstwhile mentor? To ponder these questions, Spurrett's pals on BHASKAR, the Internet

list devoted to the theorist's work (Spurrett is a founder of the group), used the occasion to mount an exchange on whether the master's proximity was justified or not. A debater for the opposition reiterated his respect for Bhaskar as a thinker, only to add archly: "philosophical discourse should...have more contributed to it by the author than by the reader." A partisan of Bhaskar's prose, on the other hand, enthused that his sentences "seem to have a life all of their own, dragging you in, forcing you, without drawing breath, to indulge yourself. It's almost like being on a roller-coaster. Can you *feel* the speed?"

Don't expect the PHIL-LIT prize to improve Bhaskar's writing anytime soon. After all, the blurb on *Plato Etc.* promises that this book is already Bhaskar's "most accessible book to date." Further efforts at accessibility might be too frightening to contemplate.

RICK PERLSTEIN

THE NEXT GENERATION

In the late Sixties, when a few universities made the mistake of allowing students to choose the names for the buildings that they inhabited, the results ran to the whimsically countercultural or the predictably political. For example, at SUNY-Stony Brook, residential colleges were named after such famous locals as Harpo Marx and Lenny Bruce. These choices, alas, did not survive for the most part; now, the most risky name at Stony Brook is Eleanor Roosevelt Quad.

In the 1990s, however, students are boldly venturing where no one has gone before. To find out where, beam yourself over to 3840 McTavish Street, on the campus of McGill University in Montreal, and take a look at the sign that proclaims the building:

WILLIAM SHATNER UNIVERSITY CENTRE. Yes, Captain Kirk, it turns out, was a 1952 graduate (in commerce) of the distinguished Canadian uni-



versity, and in 1992 students voted to name the building after the man who was third-string quarterback on the McGill football team in his undergraduate days. University officials apparently tolerate the sign but don't officially recognize the name because McGill regulations require that their buildings be named only for dead alumni or for those who have donated half the value of the structure. Shatner is not dead,

of course (though you'd never know it from his *Star Trek* performances), nor is he a particularly devoted alumnus—he has reportedly never set foot on campus in the years since he graduated and began his acting career with the Canadian Repertory Company and the Stratford Shakespeare Festival.

So what? says Alex Usher, a history student and one of the organizers of the referendum. "He's the only McGill graduate ever to command a starship within fifteen years of graduating. That's an event worth celebrating."

R.J. LAMBROSE

STOLEN LEGACY

Ever since February 19, 1943, when a group of students led by Hans and Sophie Scholl threw leaflets from a balcony at the University of Munich urging their peers to "Fight the Party," the Scholls have become symbols of youthful resistance to the Third Reich. After the brother and sister rebels were arrested by the Nazis, brutally interrogated, and tried before a specially convened Senate of the People's Court in Munich, they were hanged on April 18. That evening an inscription appeared on the walls of numerous houses in Munich: "*Ihr Geist lebt weiter*"—Their spirit lives on.

Yet as the Munich-based newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported this past May, their spirit does not seem to be living on at, of all places, the institute named in their honor. The Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich has housed the Geschwister-Scholl Institute for Political Science for over three decades. For at least two of those decades, professor Erwin Adler has been teaching a graduate seminar in the Scholl Institute's lecture hall 221—just around the corner from the famed balcony—on "The Ideology of National Socialism."

As the *Süddeutsche* revealed, the sixty-one-year-old Adler is himself not entirely free of the ideology of National Socialism. In

But the question now is, were the Jews systematically gassed or were they not gassed? And there I must say I must withhold my personal opinion. I simply don't know; I was not there."

Did the students sitting in lecture hall 221 protest? Not at all. While some may have been attracted to Adler's right-wing political stance, for many the attraction appears to have been the fact that Adler enjoyed a reputation as a soft grader. They listened

of these academicians is to challenge the uniqueness of the Final Solution and thereby remove the albatross of guilt from the German nation.

Of this group, Scholl has received the most public scrutiny. As the outrage against him mounted, the director of the Geschwister-Scholl Institute, professor Peter Cornelius Mayer-Tasch, attempted to exercise a bit of damage control by issuing a brief statement on May 15 that asked Adler to



The Scholls' spirit does not seem to be living on at the institute named in their honor.

attending just one seminar, the paper's reporter, Rainer Stephan, was able to collect such bon mots from Adler as "The Jews were extruded from the daily life of German society, they were concentrated, they were deported, they were imprisoned, they were pushed out or killed....

obediently, fiddled with their pens, or dozed as the professor went on to ascribe principal blame for the outbreak of World War II to...Poland.

Adler is not the only New Right historian to teach at a prominent university in Germany. This January *Stern* magazine carried a special report on fifty professors who could be said to sympathize with Nazism. The list included the political scientist Hans-Helmuth Knütter, who tells his students, "I expect that what I say here will be deployed in the struggle against antifascism." The aim

clarify his views. The rector of the university, Andreas Heldrich, was not satisfied with the result; on May 21 he stripped Adler of his teaching assignment. (Adler remains on the institute's faculty.) A professor of history, Franz Kohout, who has already visited Auschwitz with university students, will assume Adler's place. Twelve of Adler's students, however, have chosen to resist the change: They've signed a letter protesting their former professor's removal from the lectern.

JACOB HEILBRUNN

ANTIFOUNDATIONALISM

The John M. Olin Foundation is well known for its generous funding of conservative intellectuals, journals, and think tanks. So when Adelphi University offered Olin a chance to help reform an entire university by endowing a raft of visiting professorships, the foundation leapt at the offer. But now, following a year of scandal and upheaval at Adelphi, Olin has cut off its support—and may be wishing it hadn't heard of the beleaguered Long Island school in the first place.

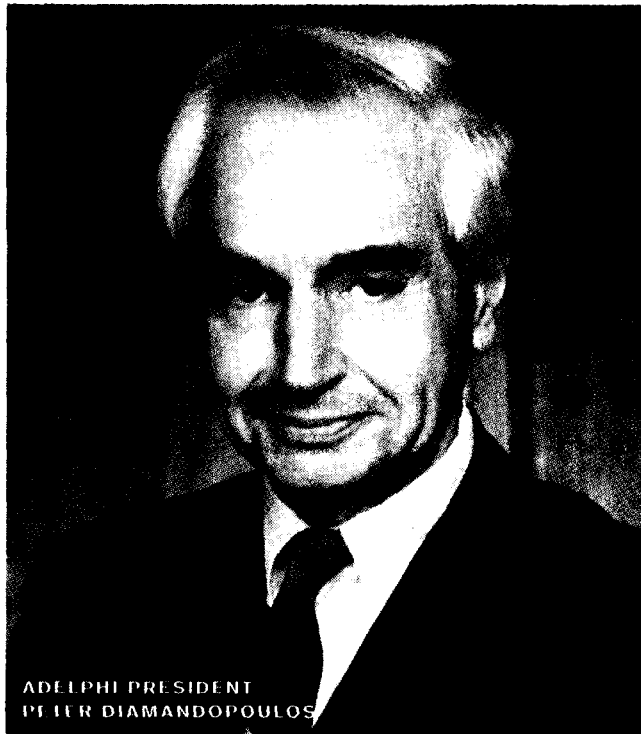
Adelphi University first raised eyebrows in academe in the mid-Eighties when its flamboyant new president, Peter Diamandopoulos, announced he would transform the commuter school into a prestigious liberal arts enclave with, as a press release put it, "a broad, dialectical view of modern knowledge." The heart of his effort was the introduction, over the heads of the faculty, of a traditionalist "core curriculum."

In 1992, to bolster its new core, Adelphi accepted \$300,000 from the Olin Foundation to sign up three visiting professors—Germanist David Gress, *Partisan Review* editor Edith Kurzweil, and Russian scholar Dmitry Urnov—for terms lasting up to two years. In many respects, the program was a quick success: Kurzweil was tremendously pleased with the academic environment at Adelphi, and chose to stay beyond her Olin term, as did Urnov.

But many faculty members at Adelphi were less than happy with the Olin-sponsored visitors. They defended

their right to run their own curriculum. And they also pointed out that the university's collective bargaining agreement permits the president to appoint a visiting professor only in an "emergency situation"—and the administration never explained what sort of emergency the Olin professors were brought in to address. In a time of plummeting enrollments, professors

By 1995 the conflicts at Adelphi had seriously escalated. The administration filed motions to decertify the faculty union with the National Labor Relations Board; the union-led Committee to Save Adelphi persuaded the New York Attorney General's "Charities Bureau" to investigate Diamandopoulos for financial malfeasance. Amidst the publicity firestorm, the Olin pro-



wondered whether Olin's money wasn't intended to offset the expense of promotional extravagances like, for example, a \$40,000 outlay for a new school logo—and a seven-year-long series of full-page ads in glossy magazines. They also worried about Olin's ideological goals. One department chair says, "We were suspicious that this was a *démarche*—that Olin was using Adelphi to add a new front to the Culture Wars."

fessors continued in their work, putting an attractive face on the administration's ongoing curricular reforms.

But there soon followed a sequence of events that suggested to Olin that Adelphi was not the blank slate it needed for its academic experiments. In the spring of 1995, the distinguished Aristotle scholar Carnes Lord (formerly Dan Quayle's National Security Advisor), whose term as an Olin professor was coming to

an end, applied for a permanent position. He was rejected by the faculty—reportedly to the alarm of Olin's staff, who expected by this time Diamandopoulos would have established more control over the university's academic life. Then in September, Olin Foundation president William E. Simon, a stalwart foe of the academic Left, was heckled by members of the faculty when he addressed Adelphi's centennial convocation.

Olin finally decided it wanted out. Beginning this

Olin's staff expected Diamandopoulos to run a tight ship.

fall, the foundation will suspend its Adelphi grant. Although Simon continues to serve as an "honorary trustee," James Piereson, Olin's executive director, has resigned from the school's board. (Olin got still more headaches this spring when it attempted to move historian Ronald Radosh, one of its Adelphi grantees, into a similarly funded post at George Washington University. When critics charged that Olin was foisting its professor on the school, Piereson replied that Radosh was being blacklisted for his anticommunist scholarship.)

Surveying the entire Long Island story, Carnes Lord explains: "I think Olin became concerned about the lack of progress at Adelphi." As a commuter school, and one of the few private colleges in the country with a powerful faculty union, he adds, "Adelphi was kind of a poor place in some ways to try a grand experiment in liberal education."

DAVID GLENN

Breakthrough Books

WE ASKED EIGHT AUTHORITIES ON THE POSTCOMMUNIST CONDITION TO TELL US WHICH BOOKS SHED THE MOST LIGHT ON THE BEWILDERING AND OFTEN FRIGHTENING NEW WORLD MIDWIFED BY THE END OF THE COLD WAR.

Robert D. Kaplan, author of *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21st Century* (Random House, 1996) and *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History* (St. Martin's, 1993).

"The end of communism helps clear the path for the end of ideological competition," Kaplan argues. "In a world with less politics but more materialism, the struggle for scarcer resources by an increasingly larger number of human beings will sharpen. It will dawn on people that not all cultures are equal. Oh, sure, they may be equal abstractly or morally, but cultures have never been equal in regard to their ability to produce exportable material wealth. For a guide to this kind of cultural competition in the postcommunist world, I recommend Francis Fukuyama's *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (Free Press, 1995), because it dispenses quickly with cant about cultural equality, and goes on to generalize bravely about what peoples can be expected to create the optimum social conditions for wealth production."

....

Tina Rosenberg, senior fellow at the World Policy Institute and author of *The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism* (Vintage,

1996), winner of the National Book Award.

Rosenberg stresses that new research on postcommunism is only as good as its understanding of communism. "I found out about Adam Hochschild's *The Unquiet Ghost: Russians Remember Stalin* (Viking, 1995) after I finished *The Haunted Land*," she says, "but I wish I had read it while I was still working on my book. I admire Hochschild greatly for his use of personal narratives to understand the human response to terror. The question of why many Russians continue to revere Stalin—even some who suffered greatly during his regime—is one whose importance permeates Russia's current political crisis and indeed will endure long beyond it."

....

Vladimir Tismaneanu, associate professor of politics at the University of Maryland, College Park, and author of *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe From Stalin to Havel* (Free Press, 1992).

"Berkeley political scientist Ken Jowitt's *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (California, 1993) is a pathbreaking contribution to understanding the postcommunist condition, that ambiguous place where liberal and illiberal political paradigms compete for the

souls of individuals shell-shocked by the demons of populism, nationalism, and corporatism. Jowitt doesn't flinch from facing down the toughest issues: the legacy of authoritarian mentalities, the enduring nostalgia for paternalistic institutions, the debilitation of liberal commitments and loyalties. What is it like to live under such conditions? See the Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulic's essay collection *Balkan Express: Fragments From the Other Side of the War* (Norton, 1993) and Hungarian critic George Konrad's *The Melancholy of Rebirth: Essays From Post-Communist Central Europe* (Harcourt Brace, 1995). Both books brilliantly explore the signal postcommunist sentiments: frustration, malaise, and civic demobilization."

....

David Remnick, *New Yorker* staff writer and Pulitzer-Prize-winning author of *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (Random House, 1993).

"Although Russian studies departments have taken a terrible hit in the academy, the new era has produced an exciting new breed of scholars. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Cornell, 1994), Yuri Slezkine's study of the northern peoples of Russia

under Soviet rule, and *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (California, 1995), Stephen Kotkin's magisterial case study of life in the Urals, are both magnificent works of scholarship. Slezkine, an émigré now at Berkeley, and Kotkin, the head of Russian studies at Princeton, both go beyond the Cold War pissing matches of their elders, who so often sacrificed the demands of scholarship for the polemics of the day."

....

Stjepan G. Mestrovic, professor of sociology at Texas A&M and author of *Habits of the Balkan Heart: Social Character and the Fall of Communism* (Texas A&M, 1993) and editor of *Genocide After Emotion: The Post-emotional Balkan War* (Routledge, 1996).

"If you believe that free markets and democracy can be transplanted to the former communist states, then Anatoly M. Khazanov and Philip J. Cohen will shatter your faith. Khazanov's *After the USSR: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States* (Wisconsin, 1995) argues that Gorbachev was a devoted communist to the end, more interested in preserving the Soviet empire than in fostering democracy. He adds that if Yeltsin retains power, the first item on his



agenda will be to cement Russian dominance over the ethnic nationalisms that erupted as an unanticipated consequence of perestroika. Philip Cohen's book, *Serbia's Secret War: Propaganda and the Deceit of History* (Texas A&M, 1996), argues that the Bosnian case is roughly parallel: Serbia waged a war of deception in order to reclaim its dominance over the nationalities that declared their freedom after the breakup of Yugoslavia. Both agree that authoritarianism and xenophobia, more than Western-style liberalism, will form the crucible of post-communist societies."

....

Ellen E. Berry, director of women's studies at Bowling Green State, editor of *Postcommunism and the Body Politic* (NYU, 1995), and co-editor of *Re-Entering the Sign: Articulating New Russian Culture* (Michigan, 1995).

"Mikhail N. Epstein's new collection of essays, *After the Future: The Paradoxes of Postmodernism and Contemporary Russian Culture* (Massachusetts, 1995), is a major contribution to the emerging field of postcommunist studies. The founder of such innovative Moscow-based institutions as the Bank of New Ideas and the Laboratory of Contemporary Culture, Epstein documents a

remarkable moment in Russian history—the perestroika era—from the perspective of a major participant in its unfolding, and elaborates a uniquely Russian version of cultural studies. Despite the monstrous results of past Russian projections of the future, Epstein, against all odds, wants 'to restore [a] love of the future, not as a promised state, but as a state of promise, as expectation without determination.'"

Michael D. Kennedy, director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Michigan, editor of *Envisioning Eastern Europe: Postcommunist Cultural Studies* (Michigan, 1994), and author of *Solidarity in Poland: A Critical Sociology of Soviet-type Society* (Cambridge, 1991).

"Understanding how actually existing socialism worked, and how its legacy shapes the present, are central problems of postcommunism. Katherine Verdery's book *What Was Socialism?, and What Comes Next?* (Princeton, 1996), the fruit of years of ethnographic work, has the historical sense, theoretical agility, and critical spirit to provide genuine insight into

these matters." Kennedy notes that much of the best work written in the former communist states remains untranslated, and that the best work of all may be...a comic book. *PRL dla Początkujących (The Polish People's Republic for Beginners)* by Jacek Kuron and Jacek Zakowski (Wydawnictwo Dolnoslaskie, 1996) is an illustrated history of Poland's communist state, told through the life story of Kuron, a founder of Solidarity and last year's presidential candidate for one of Poland's leading parties, the Union of Freedom. The book is designed to narrow the gap between those who lived through communism and youth who have come of age since 1989. And it focuses on the country's ever-widening gap between rich and poor. Could it be that a critical examination of the communist past and an examination of the social problems of the present belong together? Kuron and Zakowski convincingly make the case; and they should set a worldwide example."

Andrei Codrescu, NPR commentator, editor of the literary journal *Exquisite Corpse*, and author of *The Hole in the Flag: A Romanian Exile's*

Story of Return and Revolution (Avon, 1992).

"The specialists on communism, including the CIA, had so much egg on their faces when the Big Surprise of 1989 came that they are still scrubbing. The literature on postcommunism is written in large part by this egg-faced army, just as the postcommunist governments are composed in large part of former communists. Reheated cold warriors, go home to your offices. Stay there. Desist from postcommunism. There are few books on this subject touched by the rosy freshness of wonder and poetry. One of these, though masquerading as a political treatise, is Vladimir Tismaneanu's *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel* (Free Press, 1992). Here is a man who does not allow the seriousness of the subject to distract him from the *gran commedia* of Hell's collapse. He writes intelligently and apprehensively about the necessity to rethink all our notions of the world, West and East. I do not recommend any books written by Americans or Western Europeans. These books, especially the naive lucubrations of Robert D. Kaplan visiting Serb monks, are driven by the eternal fascination of Americans with moldy objects and their presumed ancestry in some romantic shtetl."

RICK PERLSTEIN



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Inside Publishing

THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY

THE PHOTO APPEARS IN RICHARD ELLMANN's much-lauded 1988 biography of Oscar Wilde, marked unambiguously: WILDE IN COSTUME AS SALOMÉ. The fleshy figure kneels, draped in exotic finery, with gaudily banded arms outstretched toward the head of John the Baptist on a plate. It is a delectable item—the first contemporary “gay” writer, pictured in glamorous Orientalist drag. There's just one problem: It's not Wilde.

In fact, it's not a man at all. The photo is of Alice Guszalewicz, a Hungarian opera singer, posing in the role of Salomé for a production of Richard Strauss's opera. But before the zaftig diva was properly identified, the titillating semiotics of Wilde-as-veiled-temptress became fodder for analyses by literary critics such as Elaine Showalter and Marjorie Garber. These critics picked up the photo from Ellmann's book, finding it, as Showalter remarks in bemused hindsight, “too good to be true.”

How did the picture get misidentified? A collector of Wilde, Guillot de Saix, included the photo in a selection of documents he copied for the Roger-Viollet photo archive in the mid-1950s, where it became detached from its caption. It was “discovered” by a picture editor for *Le Monde* and published, in 1987, to illustrate a book review. Catherine Carver, Ellmann's editor at Random House, spotted the photo in *Le Monde* and showed it to a delighted Ellmann, who was ill at the time and died before the photo's provenance was verified. Ellmann's biography was published posthumously, with the picture featured prominently in the book but undiscussed in the text—the result, apparently, of his editor's hasty decision to include it without having checked the archive.

When Merlin Holland, Wilde's grandson, saw the photograph in Ellmann's book, he was suspicious, finding the “nose too hooked, the lips too thin” to be his famous forebear. It wasn't until 1992, however, that John Stokes wrote to the *London Review of Books* (in response to a review of Showalter's *Sexual Anarchy*) identifying the

Salomé in the photo as a soprano named Leonore Sengern. This identification proved to be a red herring as well, an error based on yet *another* Salomé portrait in the Roger-Viollet collection. Finally, in 1993, the last veil was removed by Horst Schroeder, a German scholar. Schroeder, while attempting to verify the Sengern identification for Holland, uncovered a photograph of Guszalewicz in a pose from the same photo session, and the real Salomé was revealed.

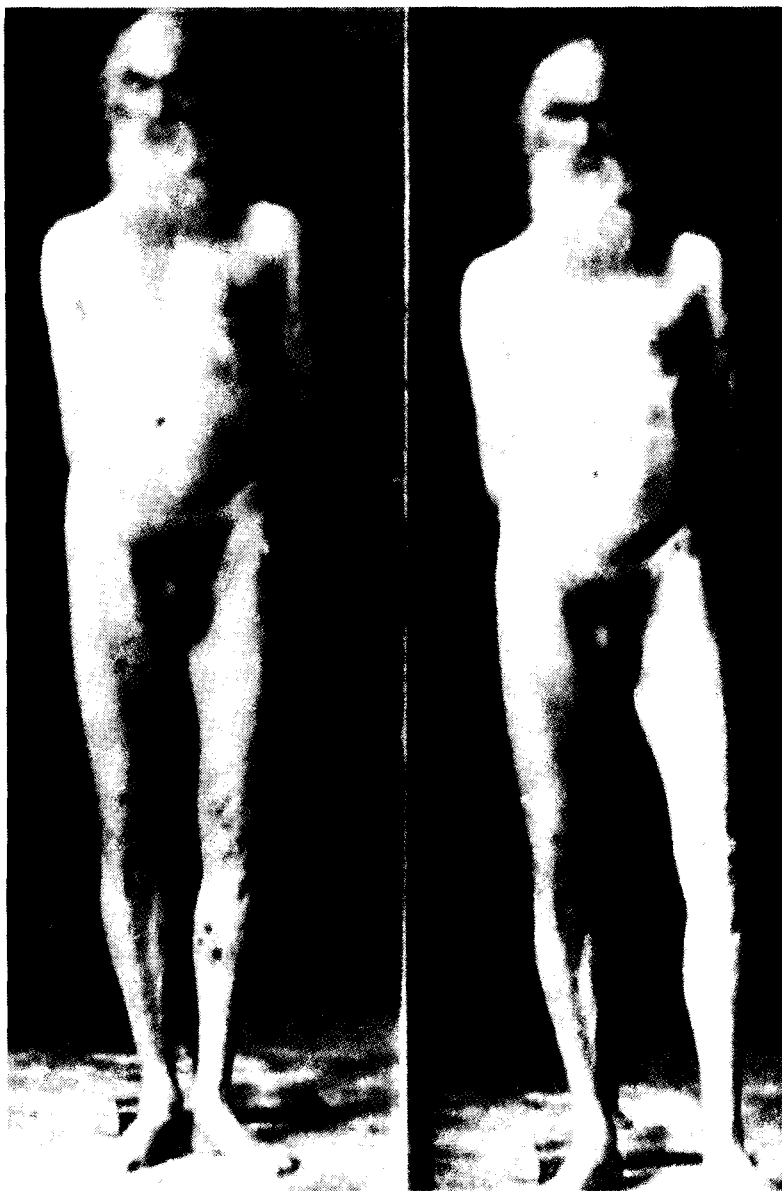
The news seems to have taken a while to cross over to the States, however; when Laurence Senelick, head of the theater department at Tufts, spoke about the image at a Wilde conference earlier this year, he created a considerable stir.

Senelick believes that the photo's staying power demonstrates a lack of historical rigor among contemporary theorists. “It's an object lesson in how so many cultural critics generalize so badly about the past instead of getting the background right,” he says. “People trained as literary critics don't understand how to evaluate pictorial matter. Cultural critics were so eager to use this—it confirmed in their mind that Wilde as a homosexual is a drag queen.”

Merlin Holland agrees that many academics “start with a theory and then twist the evi-

When Oscar Wilde's grandson saw the photograph, he was immediately suspicious.





dence to fit it." He views the Salomé incident as exemplary of contemporary theorists' anachronistic take on his grandfather's sexuality. "Alarm bells went off immediately," says Holland. "It's just not the sort of thing he would have done. He wasn't camp. He wouldn't have dressed up in women's clothes. It's all very well to impose twentieth-century campery on [nineteenth-century] homosexuals, but that's not the way they were."

Of course, some nineteenth-century homosexuals *did* cross-dress, but it's true that Wilde's

And speaking of
ambiguous literary
likenesses...

flamboyant aestheticism and arch aphorisms are often indiscriminately lumped together with modern notions of the "bitchy queen." Shouldn't critics using the photo have traced its origins more carefully?

To Marjorie Garber, this kind of charge is overkill. "I took the attribution from Ellmann," she says in response. "I knew him well; he was a colleague whom I respected. I didn't think about it." Garber did an extensive analysis of the photo in her book on transvestism, *Vested Interests*, in a section titled "Anyway You Slice It, It's Still Salomé." "My reaction is the same as the title: Anyway you slice it, *Wilde's* still Salomé," she remarks. "What's most fascinating is what [the reattribution] reveals about people's reactions—who is glad to find out and who is sorry. Both sides point to an anxiety about gay male identity and drag; these are the kinds of issues cultural criticism brings up. But it's unfortunate to generalize about schools of criticism."

Elaine Showalter concurs. (She also points out that the photo is not central to her analysis of Wilde, and that in her book she labels its provenance "a mystery.") "This is no big deal, nobody here is a criminal," she says. "To blame cultural critics is pretty extreme. Once you realize there is a problem, you try to sort it out."

Ironically, yet another ambiguous literary likeness is currently being used to pitch scholarship on a male icon of queer theory. This time, though, he's completely naked. *Breaking Bounds: Whitman & American Cultural Studies* is being publicized by Oxford University Press with a teaser postcard: a Thomas Eakins photo of a nude, bearded man, bearing the caption IS THIS WALT WHITMAN? In her introduction to the volume, co-editor Betsy Erkkila cleverly (if wordily) ducks the issue of the photo's authenticity: "The very ambiguity of this nude photograph (is it really Walt Whitman or somebody else?), with its erasure of individual identity and its blurred but nevertheless culturally charged conjuncture between [Whitman and Eakins] around the site of the body...raises questions about identity, queerness, the body politic, and the making and breaking of boundaries at once national and transnational, cultural and social."

In other words: If it's him, great; if it's not him, well, it still looks like him, doesn't it? Wilde's Basil Hallward, who said of Dorian Gray, "He is never more present in my work than when no image of him is there," might sympathize.

EMILY NUSSBAUM

LEFT OUT OF THE EQUATION

FOR OVER FIFTY YEARS, RUTGERS MATHEMATICIAN Herbert Robbins has been scrawling tiny corrections, Fermat-style, in the margins of his 1941 work *What Is Mathematics?* The book, co-authored with the late Richard Courant, is by now a classic, with sales of more than 200,000 copies in the United States. (In Russia and China, millions of bootleg copies have reportedly been circulated.) Indeed, *What Is Mathematics?* is regarded as the most elegant survey of modern mathematical concepts yet written; the paperback even boasts a blurb from Albert Einstein.

Despite the book's success, Robbins has long been bothered by the few small errors and infelicities that he's discovered in the text. Unfortunately, when he contacted the publisher, Oxford University Press, about the possibility of a new edition several years ago, they said they weren't interested.

Imagine Robbins's frustration, then, when he received word of Oxford's plan to publish a "second edition" of his masterpiece—without his input. Robbins wasn't even shown a galley manuscript of the new version, which arrives in bookstores this month, complete with new material penned by Ian Stewart, a professor at the University of Warwick. At least Robbins's name is still on the cover.

"If I were revising the Bible," Robbins says waspishly, "I should think that I would consult the original author." Perhaps. But Oxford was under no legal obligation to do so, as the publisher—not Robbins—owns the copyright. In fact, the new edition "is considered a whole new work by the Library of Congress," says Oxford publicist Carolyn Michelman. "We weren't trying to snub Herbert Robbins; we just wanted to update the book."

Even so, Oxford's cavalier treatment of his work represents a double indignity for Robbins—this is the *second* time that he's lost control over his creation. Fifty years ago, Robbins's legendary co-author (whose name now graces NYU's Courant Institute of Mathematical Sciences) secretly scratched his youthful colleague's name from the title page, despite promises to share full credit. The incident led to a confrontation that has become part of modern mathematical lore.

Here's the story: In 1939 Robbins, then a twenty-four-year-old topology whiz, was enlisted by Courant to assist in the preparation of a layman's guide to mathematics, one that would serve as a sort of private tutor for the innumerable innumerates among us. The duo spent two

years polishing off the manuscript. While Courant always maintained that the book was his "child," Robbins argued that he had made an equal contribution, and insisted on sharing the marquee. ("I didn't become a mathematician to become a *ghostwriter*," he says.) At first, Courant agreed to split the credit—but at the last minute, he relegated Robbins's name to the acknowledgments page. Robbins caught the change while glancing over final proofs.

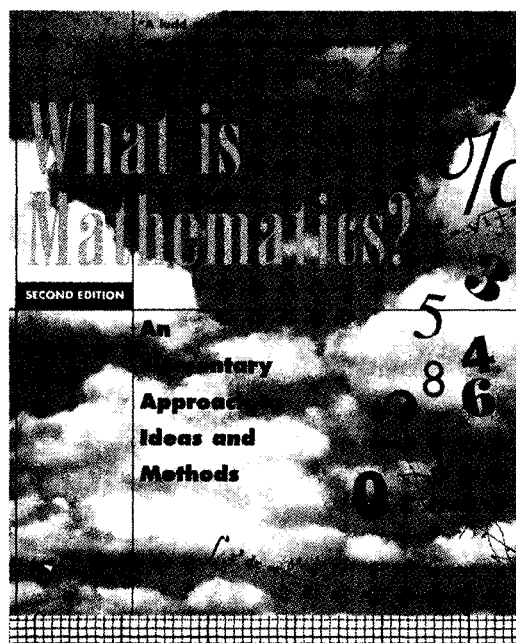
The stunned young scholar notified his Harvard Ph.D. adviser, Hassler Whitney, who threatened Courant with exposure at the next American Mathematical Society meeting. Under pressure, Courant restored Robbins's name—all the while securing sole copyright for himself. According to Robbins, such uncollegial acts were not uncommon for Richard Courant: "We all used to call him 'Dirty Dick.'"

When Courant died in 1978, the copyright for *What Is Mathematics?* fell to his son Ernest, who then pawned it off to Oxford in 1986—leaving Robbins legally (and financially) out of the loop. That's why Ian Stewart, who pens the "Mathematical Recreations" column in *Scientific American*, was able to propose that he piggyback onto the 1941 edition, with a sixty-page addendum that details recent triumphs like the proofs of Fermat's Conjecture and the Four-Color Theorem.

Robbins finally received a press release about the new edition from Oxford this spring, but his requests to see the revised manuscript went unanswered. When *Lingua Franca* offered Robbins the opportunity to see a copy of the galleys, he was relieved to discover that the 1941 section was practically untouched. (In a new preface, Stewart writes that the original text has "lasted so well that not a single symbol had to be deleted.") At the same time, Robbins regrets that the revisions he himself had collected over the years were not incorporated.

To Stewart's credit, his extensive epilogue opens a fascinating historical window into mathematical progress; one reads Courant and Robbins declaring that "it has been a futile task to seek

"If I were revising the Bible, I should think that I would consult the original author," says Robbins.



Richard Courant and Herbert Robbins
Revised by **Ian Stewart**

about the new edition? Ernest Courant pleads ignorance. "I didn't contact Robbins," he admits.

expressions of simple type which produce only primes," then skips to the back of the book and finds solutions that were arrived at in the early Seventies.

Robbins himself isn't quite so pleased with these additions, however. It's an aesthetic position, really: "The book represents mathematics at a particular point in history. Granted, a lot has changed since then, but so what? What they've done, it's like revamping *War and Peace* to make room for World War II."

So why wasn't Robbins at least consulted

"But it was Stewart's project, not mine. I suggested, I think, that Stewart get together with Robbins. Didn't he?" By e-mail, Stewart responded in a similar vein: "I have no idea why Robbins was not involved," he said. "To be honest, I'm not even sure if he's still alive." So was Robbins, now known for his pioneering work in statistics, simply left for dead? Not a chance, he says: "The Courant brood is angry that I embarrassed their father." On this score, Ernest Courant will only say that "there's been some tension."

While Robbins concedes that Stewart's new additions are "nicely written, for what they are," he's not at all happy about the one "correction" Stewart makes—to a word problem Robbins conceived to illustrate an application to a problem in dynamics. According to Stewart, the example is flawed, "the one place where arguably Courant and Robbins made a mistake." Not so! roars Robbins. "All [Stewart] had to do is give me a call about his so-called 'quibble,' and I would have set him straight. His argument is preposterous." So preposterous, he says, that he's preparing a tart article for *American Mathematical Monthly* to correct Stewart's correction.

Time for a Third Edition, perhaps?

DANIEL ZALEWSKI

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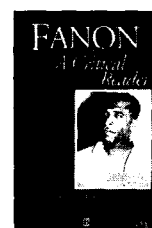
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THE GANGSTER THEORY OF LIFE

ALL MANNER OF BOLD NEW PARADIGMS stalked the corridors of the 1992 convention of the American Society of Criminology—from chaos theory to Lacanian psychoanalysis (“The criminal act [is] a mode of subjectivization through which the criminal tries to confront his traumas and inhibitions”). Yet something was lacking. According to an estimate by William F. McDonald, a professor of criminal sociology at Georgetown University, less than 2 percent of the 1,323 papers presented addressed crime from a transnational perspective. Mobsters, of course, have proven considerably less provincial: With bootleg software and counterfeit credit cards selling briskly on the world black market, crime has truly gone cosmopolitan.

Now the theorists are catching up with the thugs—or at least beginning to worry about them in print. Since early 1995, two new jour-

nals edited by American criminologists have added to the literature on international malfeasance. *Trends in Organized Crime* (published by Transaction, the social-science powerhouse based at Rutgers University) reprints scholarly papers and official law-enforcement reports from around the world, many in translation. *Transnational Organized Crime* (distributed by a British house, Frank Cass) publishes original academic research and review essays. “Transnational organized crime is a growth area,” says an editorial in the first issue—and not just for crooks anymore.

To the lay public, no doubt, the most interesting articles in either journal are the studies in what might be called comparative gangsterology. In its debut number, *Trends in Organized Crime* reprinted twenty pages of analysis on the Russian Mafia—by far the most successful business enter-



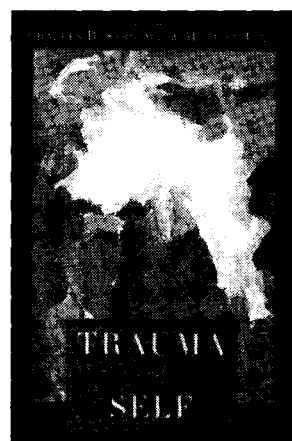
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The theorists are finally catching up with the thugs.

prise in the former Soviet Union. (Most of the real estate in downtown Moscow is under mob control.) The same issue contains a detailed abstract of Diego Gambetta's *The Si-*

cilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection (Harvard, 1993), where the reader learns that "the ritualistic introductions of Mafia members serve to protect Mafia trademarks, i.e., it prevents impostors from capitalizing on others' reputations."

Of course, the old vices served by the underworld still have a place in the New World Order: Prostitution, gambling, and drugs remain profitable investments. But the journals also track the pioneering efforts of thugs who have a high-tech flair. In *Trends*, New Scotland Yard detective John Newton documents the rise of "white plastic"—phony credit or bank cards—manufactured, with ever greater sophistication, by Chinese gangs. And in *Transnational Organized Crime*, Phil Williams and Paul Woessner offer "an interim assessment" of a particularly nerve-racking development: "Nuclear material trafficking." Besides monitoring criminal innovations, *Trends* describes law-enforcement methods for handling "OC" (organized crime) around the world. Italian police techniques for breaking

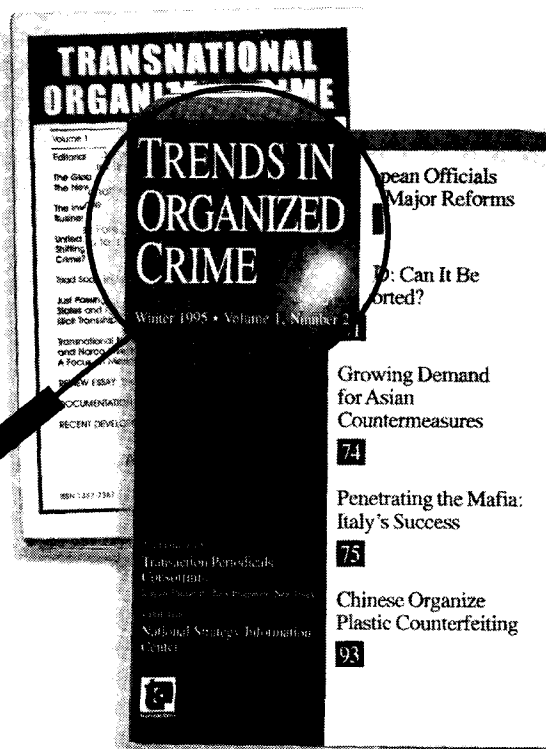
the "code of silence" receive detailed consideration. A recent issue reprinted a paper on the possibility of applying the U.S. Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) in Eastern Europe.

Despite the large overlap in their concerns, *Trends in Organized Crime* and *Transnational Organized Crime* have fairly distinct profiles. *Trends* is sponsored by the National Strategy and Information Center (NSIC), a secretive think tank with close ties to the military and intelligence communities. The translations it runs do not always make for happy English prose. "Organized crime in Korea dates back to the 1960s," reads a report from the South Korean Ministry of Justice, "when organized crime emerged in the form of violent criminal organizations." No doubt. But, gray though it sometimes is, *Trends* manages to digest an impressive array of sources. More interesting than many of the featured articles is the extensive selection of book reviews and article abstracts. It is particularly strong in its coverage of Russian developments. (Until recently, the cold warriors at the NSIC were better known for publications such as *The Challenge of Soviet Shipping* than for any concern with organized crime.)

Transnational Organized Crime has its links with official sources, too—the journal's letterhead reads U.S. EDITOR: CARL FLOREZ, FBI. But the articles convey the spirit of a somewhat embattled minority within the American criminological fraternity. The first issue opens with an almost manifesto-like essay by Georgetown's McDonald, "The Globalization of Criminology." In addition to decrying the trendy yet provincial quality of that 1992 ASC meeting, McDonald notes that federal grants for the study of international crime have been conspicuous mainly for their scarcity. But the profession is due for a rendezvous with reality. "There are indications that transnational criminality and control will emerge as a growth field within the discipline," he writes. With articles such as "The Internationalization of Business Crime" and "Transit States and the Dynamics of Illicit Transshipment," the journal is eagerly positioning itself at the conceptual forefront.

Whatever their effect on the world of professional criminology, both journals are bound to find their way to armchair detectives. Or at least to those with access to big libraries. After all, as with any academic publication, the cost of subscribing is a bit steep—for *Transnational Organized Crime*, \$50 a year; for *Trends*, \$60. Then again, for career-minded goodfellas curious about what their peers abroad are doing, it's a steal.

SCOTT MCLEEMEE



SAME-SEX UNIONS IN PREMODERN UTAH

THIS PAST MARCH, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS'S Salt Lake City bureau filed a short article about a forthcoming work of social history. When the piece was published in two Utah newspapers, all hell broke loose.

Letters of denunciation rolled in for six weeks. Dozens of readers canceled their subscriptions. And the newspapers involved, the *Logan Herald-Journal* and the *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, ran guest columns attacking what the study had purportedly said. The upheaval "lasted longer than anything I've experienced before," said *Herald-Journal* publisher Bruce Smith.

The cause of the furor was D. Michael Quinn's *Same-Sex Dynamics Among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Illinois). The book, to be published this month, proceeds from the general notion that "nineteenth-century American culture generally

endorsed physical intimacy between persons of the same gender" to an extended exploration of "homosocial" bonds in frontier Mormon society. Brigham Young, for example, hosted a series of male-only dances; and the night before Joseph Smith was murdered by an anti-Mormon mob in 1844, the leader shared a bed with his disciple, Dan Jones—in what the official *History of the Church* calls a "close embrace." Quinn also documents court records, which reveal how, in pioneer Utah, sodomy was treated less harshly than adultery. Following the work of numerous social historians, Quinn shows that nineteenth-century Mormons, like other Americans, did not use categories of "homosexual" and "heterosexual" to define people. As a result, he concludes: "Mormons responded to homoeroticism in ways that often seem restrained, even tolerant, today."

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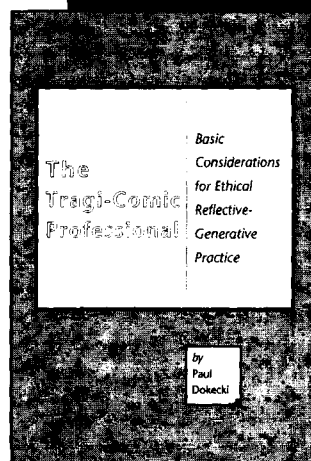
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When the AP story appeared, the Utah state legislature had just passed, with active encouragement from the church, a law banning gay and lesbian students' clubs in high schools. Conservative Mormon readers were disquieted by Quinn's implication that their pioneer forefathers might not have been so exercised by the prospect of same-sex interactions.

Quinn's book also raised questions about the sexuality of Evan Stephens, longtime director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and composer

of some of Mormonism's best-loved hymns. Whether Stephens, who shared his life with a succession of young male singers, ever performed a homosexual act, Quinn did not presume to say. But sixty-six years after his death, the suggestion that he might have done so has raised hackles all over Logan's Cache Valley, the Utah community where Stephens's relatives still live.

The controversy serves as the latest chapter in Quinn's saga as the *enfant terrible* of Mormon studies. It is also emblematic of the special challenges of doing Mormon history—an enterprise that Western historian Martin Ridge likens to writing about Christianity in the second century, when doctrine was

crystallizing and people "were being defined out."

A seventh-generation Mormon on his mother's side, Quinn grew up a devout believer in the faith with a passionate devotion to studying its past. Now fifty-two, he came of scholarly age in the early Seventies, when for a brief period the Church of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) opened its archives to all comers. After learning the historian's craft at Yale, Quinn returned to Utah to

become a rising star of the Brigham Young University history department, where he quickly obtained tenure.

In Mormon theology, there is a religious duty to study the past: The church has even attempted to compile a genealogical record of the entire human race. But Quinn's devotion to truth-telling soon got him into trouble with the elders. In 1985 he published an article stating that church leaders repeatedly sanctioned plural marriages in the decades after the church publicly declared the practice defunct in 1890. Two years later, he wrote a book, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Signature), which revealed that early Mormons were practitioners of divination and other forms of folk magic.

The church hierarchy was not pleased. Several higher-ups recommended Quinn's excommunication. Although proceedings were not undertaken at that time, Quinn found the pressure "unbearable," and in 1988 he resigned his position at BYU.

For the next five years Quinn lived in New Orleans, subsisting on a succession of grants as an independent scholar. Armed with detailed notes made during his years in the archives, he continued to anger church authorities by, among other things, tracing LDS president Ezra Taft Benson's ties to right-wing organizations like the John Birch Society, and presenting evidence that Joseph Smith had ordained women. After he returned to Salt Lake City in 1992, the church promptly excommunicated him. The church's attitude, says Quinn, "is based on the point of view that the past is dangerous. It undermines the confidence of the members in the doctrines of the church today."

Some church leaders have taken the position that any effort to place Mormonism in larger historical context represents an affront to the faith. But their greatest concern has had to do with researchers acting out of antipathy to the church. Jack Welch, the editor of *BYU Studies*, a scholarly journal that operates with the church's blessing, says, "The church feels that there are some historians out there who are honest historians, but there are others who do have very strident agendas and are on a mission to seek and destroy the church. The question is: Should the church adopt policies that will assist people who are of that persuasion, even though it may mean that other inquiries end up suffering as a result?"

Since 1980, access to the church archives has been substantially limited, although just how limited depends on who you are and how specific your request is. Jan Shipps, the doyenne of Mormon history who recently retired from Indi-



Since 1980, access to the Mormon church's archives has been substantially limited.

ana University-Purdue, has enjoyed nearly unrestricted access to the archives despite being a non-Mormon. She attributes some of her success to her religious-studies approach, which brackets off questions of the truth or falsity of Mormon doctrine. "I have not pulled my punches," she says, "but I have tried to treat it as a religion. Whether young scholars could get the kind of access that we were able to get in the Seventies I do not know, but I strongly suspect they could not."

Shipp's is not alone in watching out for the church's sensibilities. University of Illinois Press editor Liz Dulany says that one Mormon scholar, on agreeing to be a reader of Quinn's latest manuscript, told her: "Please don't reveal my name to anyone, because I will lose my job."

As for Quinn, he is now living on credit-card debt and looking for an academic position. He's also turning his attention to the history of the American family, trying to put his struggle with the Mormon church behind him. "I am not an activist, despite my reputation," he says. "I tried to do what I felt was legitimate as a historian, yet I am in my view an ardent Mormon. This has not been a matter of enjoyment."

MARK SILK

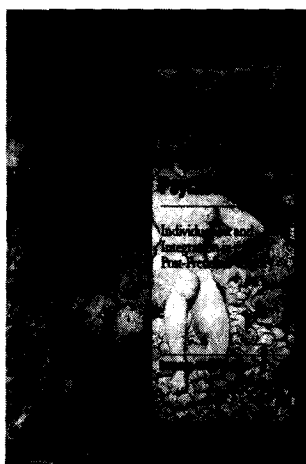
POLITICAL FOOTBALL

IN 1907 A GERMAN *KATHEDERSOZIALIST* (roughly, "tenured radical") named Werner Sombart published a monumental essay entitled "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" His unhappy conclusion, now christened the "Sombart thesis," has become a theoretical commonplace in comparative politics and history: "On reefs of roast beef and apple pie, socialist utopias of every sort are sent to their doom."

Over the years, the Sombart thesis has inspired a vast—and contentious—literature in the social sciences. But perhaps the most striking contribution will appear when Princeton publishes UC-Santa Cruz political scientist Andrei Markovits's recreational revision of Sombart, tentatively entitled *Sport and American Exceptionalism: Why There Is No Soccer in the United States*. Behold the Markovits thesis.

Markovits's argument began life as a conference paper delivered at Harvard's Center for

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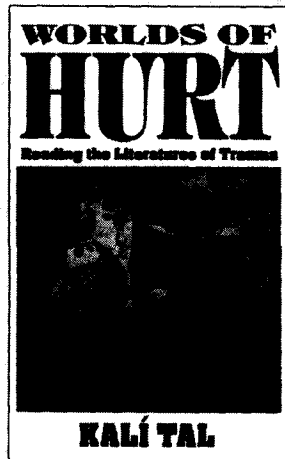
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European Politics in 1987. By 1990 it had been translated into Italian, Swedish, and French. In 1994, the year the U.S. hosted the World Cup, Markovits published versions of his paper in five publications and monopolized an entire number of the Vienna-based magazine *Ikus-Lectures*. Finally, Princeton University Press chief Walter Lippincott expressed an interest in putting out a full-length book. The rest was historiography.

And political science. Markovits's study takes its cue from Sombart and also from Seymour Martin Lipset, who once argued that the existing party alignments (the "party space") in all industrial nations were "frozen" by the 1920s. Once the great modern political parties were firmly entrenched, Lipset said, it became almost impossible to start a new party. So it is, maintains Markovits, with a country's spectator sports. Once America's baseball/football/basketball trinity was in place, professional soccer entrepreneurs were crowded out of the marketplace—even if soccer eventually took off as an amateur sport.

But why didn't soccer gain a foothold at the outset, in the nineteenth century? Here's where Sombart's ideas about American exceptionalism come in. British workers—and later the workers

of the world—fancied the collectivist pleasures of soccer. The game's nimble passwork made it a sport, writes Markovits, "in which no one individual could ever exert sufficient control to decide a game completely by himself." The Yanks, however, went their own rationalized, individualist way. They embraced an intricately



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MAJOR LEAGUE SOCCER

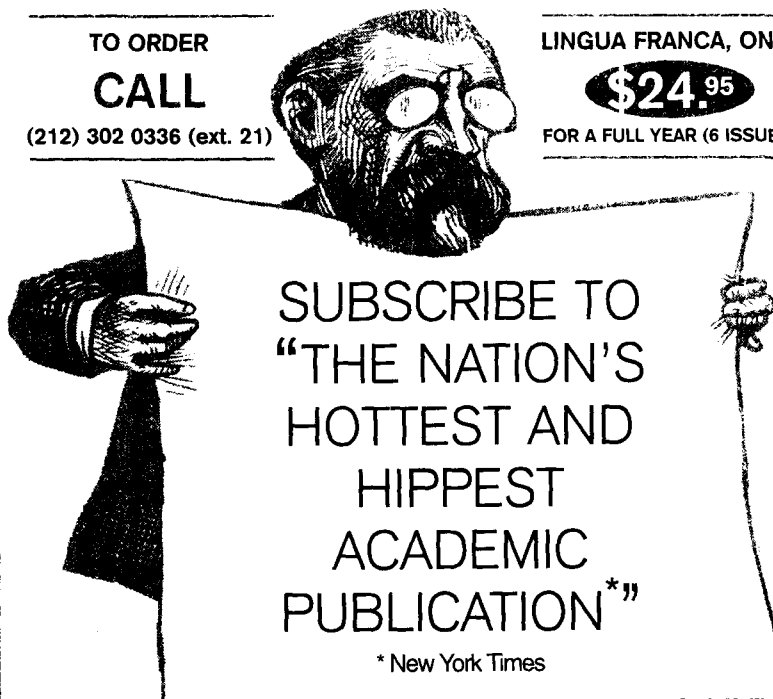
scripted (Markovits calls it "Taylorized") version of football where "the performance of a team, as well as of the individual, could be more 'objectively' measured than the murky, collectivist

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British team sports." And they also cherished baseball—mostly, says Markovits, because it was made to seem so damned *American*, free from all aristocratic taint. Baseball, he argued, was "systematically defined as 'anti-cricket': faster, more action-packed, tougher, requiring more ingenuity and individual initiative."

Markovits's no-soccer argument does face one potentially fatal flaw. This spring a new professional soccer outfit, Major League Soccer (MLS), began play in the United States, and it appears to be thriving. The League's ten teams averaged 33,821 in attendance on opening day—six thousand more than England's Premier League.

This would certainly seem to pose a problem for the political scientist. Fortunately, Markovits is a skilled defenseman. MLS, he suggests, may be able to break the athletics cartel because it enjoys an unlikely competitive advantage—one that Werner Sombart might well have appreciated. Where all other professional leagues rely on cutthroat competition, Major League Soccer is *socialist*.

According to Peter Bridgwater, the British-born general manager of the San Jose Clash, MLS will succeed where others have failed because in

this league "the collective interests [of the owners] are more important than individual interests." In MLS, a central, governing corporation owns the players' contracts and all league sponsorship deals in common; the players are parceled out to each team by the collective and assigned salaries ranging up to \$175,000. No free-agent wars here; call it soccer with a human face.

All of which raises a question: With professional soccer successfully entering America's sports space for the first time, does socialism now stand a chance of entering America's political space? The balls are in the air. "Labor chic" has become a staple in America's tonier periodicals; the AFL-CIO has established a \$35 million political war chest; and this June, Tony Mazzocchi, a longtime union leader and the president of Labor Party Advocates, will preside over the founding convention of America's first avowedly working-class political party in decades.

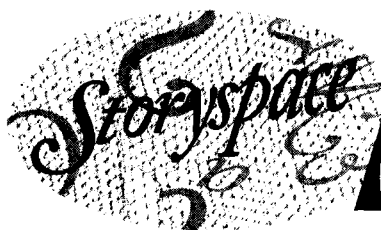
These events please Andrei Markovits who, in his political life, roots for the Democratic Socialists of America. Markovits is also heartened by Major League Soccer's success. After all, says the professor, "Markovits *the fan* wants to see the Markovits thesis disproved!"

RICK PERLSTEIN

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DESIGNS

JULIE LANSAW WAS GAZING OUT THE BACK WINDOW of an elegant antebellum mansion in Savannah, Georgia, when she saw a plume of smoke. It was October 1991, the fall semester of her second year as a graduate student at the Savannah College of Art and Design, and Lansaw was living as a nanny—or as her employer liked to say, a “governess”—at the home of the Chatham County coroner. It was a suitably morbid place from which to view the disturbing events that would soon take place around her.

Lansaw got up and followed the smoke out the back door and down Whitaker Street. A black cloud billowed up from behind a wooden fence. Lansaw climbed a flight of town house stairs, stood on her tiptoes to get a view, then saw it: a crumpled body, burning atop a pile of rags. Because of the body’s location, and the blackened remnants of a cardigan sweater and wire-rim glasses, she immediately recognized the man as Juan Bertotto, an affable architecture professor at her school. Later that day, the college’s president, Richard Rowan, called a meeting in response to the professor’s suicide. “The initial inclination was how can we keep this quiet?” recalled a faculty member who was at the meeting. “But there was simply no way to do that in a town like Savannah.”

Bertotto’s death, and the nervous reaction of administrators at the Savannah College of Art and Design—or SCAD, as it’s known locally—prompted Lansaw and her student colleagues to question their school and the eerily paranoid atmosphere on campus. Their subsequent prying into administration dealings set in motion one of the more bizarre tales in contemporary academia, one replete with pipe bombs, surveillance campaigns, and multimillion-dollar lawsuits. When the unrest ultimately led a competing art school to open a campus in Savannah’s moss-draped historic district—just blocks away from SCAD—the result was, in the words of one participant, “all-out war.” SCAD administrators reacted with a ruthlessness more becoming to a corporate behemoth than to an institution of higher learning. In

doing so, they set Savannah on its ear. “It’s the story of a school that tore a town apart,” said an attorney involved in the dispute.

THE SCHOOL IN THE SWAMP

Richard and Paula Rowan founded SCAD in 1978. At the time, they were educators in Atlanta. But Savannah’s cobblestone streets, stately town houses, and old cemeteries enticed them to move there to pursue a greater calling. The Rowans took out a \$200,000 loan, bought an empty armory building in Savannah’s historic district, and started an art college.

Back then, Savannah was a decrepit shell of a town, beautiful but with the melancholic air of a port city past its golden age, an American Venice. Downtown, especially, was dead—the old warehouses, jails, and abandoned elementary schools were just palaces for wharf rats. So the Rowans snatched up

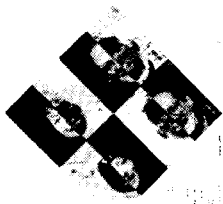
buildings for a song. The picturesque armory, a turreted medieval-looking structure overlooking the giant live oaks in Madison Square, became the first of thirty-seven subsequent buys. Art students flooded downtown, and though the locals may have disliked their “skateboards and purple Mohawks,” as one put it, the teem-



PAULA AND RICHARD ROWAN

ing presence of SCAD’s student body enlivened the once-crime-hobbled historic downtown. Real estate values soared; depending on whom you ask, the school contributes between \$75 million and \$360 million a year to the local economy.

The Rowans also gained from SCAD, even though the school was set up as a nonprofit organization. Last year the couple earned a combined \$600,000, making them among the most highly paid educators in the country, despite the school’s minuscule endowment and relatively small size. (SCAD’s spokesperson, Avis Coleman, says the Rowans didn’t get paid during the early years, so, averaged out, they’ve pulled in around \$175,000 a year.) The Rowans own two Rolls-Royces, a Jaguar, and more than twenty racehorses; they live at the Landings, a gated subdivision



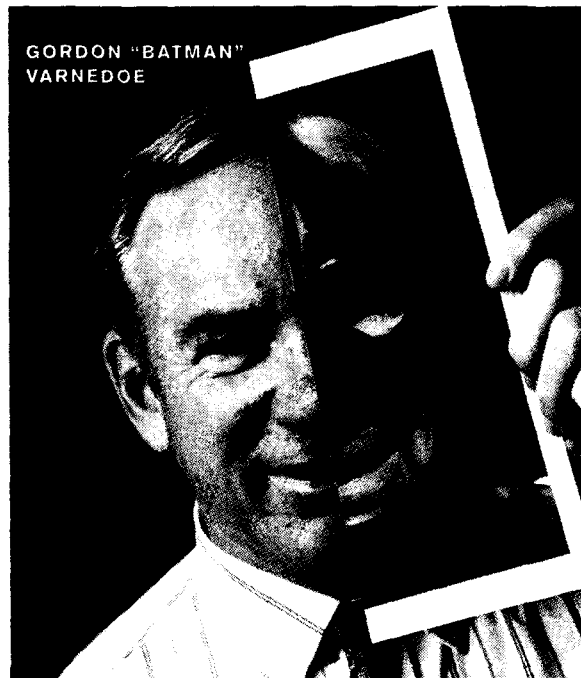
...OSTENTATION AND BACKWOODS
...ALIENATED THEM FROM SAVANNAH
...LOCALS WHO CALLED THEM THE
...THE BAKKER OF EDUCATION."

outside of town. The couple has generously spread their wealth among family members: Paula Rowan's father, mother, sister, and brother-in-law are all on the SCAD payroll.

The couple's ostentation and backwoods flair alienated them from some of the locals—who have deemed the couple the "Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker of education"—but their unpopularity did nothing to hinder SCAD's growth. The Rowans displayed an incredible zeal for business and had a clever strategy for promoting their school. Rather than gear their curriculum toward traditional painting and sculpture classes, they focused on more marketable skills like computer animation and graphic design. This technology-driven curriculum—with its attendant promise of job opportunities—allowed parents to justify spending roughly \$17,000 a year. In the late Eighties and early Nineties, the strategy paid off, as SCAD grew to two thousand students and established a reputation as a lavishly equipped institution in a sultry locale. As an observer remarked, "The jalopy had turned into a Cadillac." The Rowans lured prominent backers like novelist Pat Conroy and syndicated columnist Joyce Maynard to SCAD's board. The atmosphere was electric and tinged with optimism. Professors felt they were part of "a new Bauhaus," as one put it.

The Rowans themselves were seen only in glimpses, giving campus tours or scurrying across Savannah's oak-canopied squares to check on building renovations—he in a dark suit, polka-dot tie, and round tortoiseshell glasses, chin in the air; she in a blazer and skirt, dark-haired and slight, a little chubby. There was something mysterious about them, a cloaked, Gatsby-like aura. And like Gatsby's Long Island neighbors, Savannahians concocted elaborate tales to account for the couple's lifestyle and for

SCAD's incredible growth. When a red double-decker bus appeared downtown as SCAD's campus shuttle, locals gossiped that the school was financed by the English throne. Savannahians also hypothesized that the Rowans, who do not have artistic backgrounds, were inspired to start SCAD because of financial success at another nonprofit institution: Anneewakee, a Georgia psychiatric treatment center for adolescents founded by Paula's uncle, Louis Poetter. Poetter was later sued for racketeering and



GORDON "BATMAN" VARNEDOE

charged with sexual misconduct. (In 1988 he pled guilty to nineteen counts of sodomizing young boys entrusted to his care.) The Rowans' fiercest critics said SCAD was, in financial terms, akin to Anneewakee—a nonprofit organization set up for personal gain. When I asked a SCAD spokesperson about the Anneewakee rumors, she said, "I've never heard that one, but I have heard 'the Mafia.'" In Savannah, even the publicists gossip.

SURFSIDE SIX

The Rowans could safely ignore their neighbors' whispers. But their good luck

started to change when they hired a popular Savannah eccentric named Gordon Varnedoe as a fund-raiser. Varnedoe, whose older brother Kirk is the director of painting and sculpture at New York's Museum of Modern Art, is a burly fifty-eight-year-old rugby enthusiast with a disarming gap-toothed smile and a legendary obsession with Batman. When I first met him, he wore a winged Batman logo embroidered in his pin-striped shirt, embossed on his belt buckle, and printed on his tie. Varnedoe drove around Savannah in a black Dodge van—the "Batvan"—with logos stamped on the wheel covers. He also owned a small outboard he christened the "Batboat." Varnedoe sometimes wore a cape.

He was gregarious (friends call him a "cuddly bear") and an asset to the aloof, chilly Rowans. They provided Varnedoe, whose career in real estate was foundering, with a steady, respectable job. He used his undeniable skill—socializing—for SCAD, placating pernickety downtown neighbors and talking up the school to local businessmen. He became the art school's most zealous booster.

In the fall of 1991, Batman, in the role of fund-raiser, stumbled onto a business opportunity that would eventually spoil his relationship with the Rowans and contribute to the unraveling calm at their school. A plastic surgeon from Florida wanted to donate a floating restaurant to SCAD for a tax break. "It was called Surfside Six," Varnedoe recalled. "Back in the Sixties, it was featured in a television show of the same name." The Rowans had accepted gifts of buildings, but they had little use for a modestly famous floating restaurant—what would they do with it? They wanted cash. So Varnedoe proposed a solution beneficial to all: He would put up \$200,000 of his own money to buy the boat. The doctor, in turn, could donate the proceeds to SCAD and get his write-off. Varnedoe asked only that SCAD's attorney help him complete the paperwork necessary to get the thing open. All parties agreed, and Varnedoe bought Surfside Six and had it towed by tug all the way from Jacksonville to Savannah.

The barge soon became a financial sinkhole. Varnedoe took out a loan and, in all, tied up \$352,000 in the venture. SCAD wasn't helping him though, Varnedoe said, and the entire episode became an intense psychological drain as well. Exhausted from stress, he took a month off from his work at SCAD to see his family and deal with Surfside Six.

When he returned, in February 1992, Varnedoe did something he knew would get him in trouble: He had lunch at a popular Savannah restaurant with the head of the Downtown Neighborhood Association, a group of downtown residents who had clashed with SCAD over parking spots and historical preservation. When the Rowans, who put enormous stock in employee loyalty, heard about the meeting, they fired Varnedoe, saying he'd stabbed them in the back. The Rowans and Batman, though, weren't through with each other. Growing unrest among the students would put them on a collision course.

GHOSTS AND GOBLINS

In the autumn of 1991, a pall fell on SCAD. From her position at the coroner's house, Julie Lansaw, the graduate student, was privy to the macabre details. In addition to finding the burning body of Juan Bertotto, Lansaw got firsthand accounts from her employer of the murder of a female SCAD student who'd been shot in the head. A student was raped in her dorm room; another killed himself by leaping from the roof of the downtown DeSoto Hilton; and Mike Walsh, a senior, went to the roof of SCAD's Habersham Hall, took off his clothes, and jumped to his death. Lansaw saw the photographs of that gory scene—the kid's nude body, sprawled next to a flower bed—mixed in with the coroner's family pictures. From her perspective, death was everywhere: "I started seeing Savannah as the typical Southern town where everyone smiles but carries a knife—you know, a city of ghosts and goblins."

Coping with the deaths was made more difficult by SCAD's uneasy responses. When the young woman was murdered, a SCAD staffer poked her head into classrooms and told students to keep quiet and not talk to the papers. When a student merely told the *Savan-*

nah News-Press that Walsh "will definitely be missed," he was detained by SCAD security guards and confronted by administrators. He signed a letter of apology for commenting publicly about the incident and promised not to do it again. "He violated policy," says SCAD spokesperson Avis Coleman. "Before anyone talks to the news media on campus, the director of communications needs to know about it."

Alarmed by the school's ostentatious secrecy, Lansaw and some fellow students went straight to SCAD administrators with pointed questions. They wanted to know about the deaths—and also where their \$115,000 worth of student activities fees was going. Other students complained of dubious catalog descriptions; for example, the administration misleadingly promoted a studio arts degree in art history as a first step toward a liberal arts doctorate. Then there was the perceived high turnover rate among the professors, who labored without the security of tenure. (SCAD offers only one-year contracts.) Once emboldened, the students even questioned how the Rowans could live so lavishly off a non-profit's salary. In return for tax exemption, SCAD is supposed to be run in the public interest by a board of trustees. Although the Rowans deny the charges, some critics have called the board a "bunch of hand-picked flunkies"; according to the critics, the board turned a blind eye to the couple's extravagant salaries even while the school stood on shaky financial ground. Pat Conroy says that during his time on the board "nothing substantive was ever discussed at meetings." He resigned in protest, saying he'd rather "fight a pit bull with his genitals" than work with the Rowans.

Student prying put the administration in a panic. Paula Rowan called an emergency faculty meeting and told her staff that students were obviously "bored." She ordered professors to assign more homework. But the Rowan's condescension only energized the students, who now focused their energies on forming a student government to help them press their concerns on the administration. Soon, SCAD was transformed into a mock-up of a Vietnam-era college campus. The students held rallies in Savannah's lush Forsyth Park, and, because Rabbi Arnold Mark Belzer was a sympathizer, at the

Mickve Israel synagogue, a 120-year-old stucco building overlooking Monterey Square. A graduate student named Rick Fisher videotaped the fiery rallies and zealous student-planning sessions for a possible documentary on the movement, creating a record of events that would later loom large.

On April 6, 1992, as Lansaw and other student leaders were at a late-night meeting, putting together a draft of a proposed student government constitution, an astonishing event occurred: A pipe bomb exploded in front of the Rowans' offices in a town house at 201 West Charlton Street. When agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms arrived, they found scant evidence—a piece of metal lodged in a door, burn marks on the sidewalk—but SCAD administrators eagerly directed them to the student leaders. As word of the investigation spread, nervous students again mobilized. More than six hundred showed up for a constitutional rally at the Savannah Civic Center that week. Only one speaker, an architecture professor named Emad Afifi—Paula Rowan's brother-in-law—criticized the student movement, articulating for the crowd what was becoming the administration's hard line. "Let's say no to the hate," he said, "the hate that made a bomb explode in front of the administration building!" Angry students jeered.

Then a bearded, soft-spoken video professor named David Stout approached the lectern. "To come here tonight is to risk my job," he began, presciently. "This is a school, not a conspiracy," he said. The students roared—they would adopt the phrase as their slogan. "SCAD has a dark side," he continued, in a ministerial rhythm. "You can't put your finger on it, but the symptoms are everywhere. Ask the faculty who have been intimidated for speaking out. Ask the students who have signed documents guaranteeing their silence!" The students stood and cheered. Their initiative was gaining momentum. Later that week, the student body passed the constitution with 97 percent of the vote.

EXTRAVAGANT DESIGNS

The vote did nothing to placate the Rowans. Shaken by the bombing, they



NOVELIST PAT CONROY RESIGNED FROM SCAD'S BOARD OF TRUSTEES IN PROTEST, SAYING HE'D RATHER "FIGHT A PIT BULL WITH HIS GENITALS" THAN WORK WITH THE ROWANS.

rejected the student constitution and in late April blocked the registration of three student leaders "pending completion of the investigation by the various government authorities of the vandalism that has occurred." According to the ATF, these students were no more suspects than any other students or administrators, but the Rowans, it seemed, had prejudged their guilt and refused to let them re-enroll. The students learned about the administration's decision by chance—when the cryptic annotation DO NOT REGIS.—PROB appeared in their computer files—and were formally notified only when they pressed for an explanation.

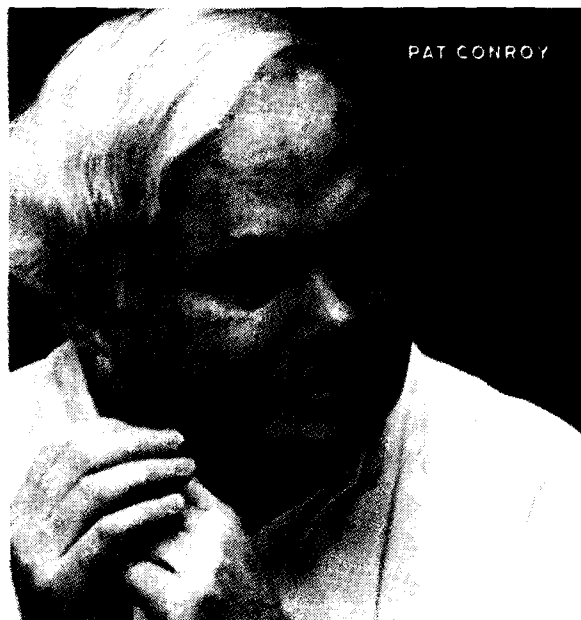
Furious and feeling cornered, the student leaders only broadened their agenda: They wanted the Rowans out. In their late-night planning sessions (many videotaped by Fisher), they plotted the couple's undoing in occasionally fantastic terms. To pay for a media campaign publicizing their cause, students sold t-shirts with a photograph of Richard Rowan on the front and the word DICTATORSHIP on the back. Savannahians who disliked the Rowans snapped up the shirts and wrote checks to the students, which Lansaw collected. "Everyone in the community was slipping documents under our doors," Lansaw said. The ground swell of community interest soon lured Batman Varnedoe back into the fray.

Since his firing, Varnedoe had kept his distance from the student movement, still busy trying to salvage Surfside Six. But he had followed the developments through some faculty friends and an undergraduate named Rick Averitt, whom he knew from his days at SCAD. Varnedoe increasingly felt that he had to do something, and when the students were implicated in the bombing investigation, he moved into action. He called Averitt, saying he wanted to talk, not on the telephone—

he feared his line might be tapped—but in person. Averitt agreed and headed over to Varnedoe's house. He returned with some interesting news, which he related to his colleagues at a kitchen-table gathering that Rick Fisher caught on videotape.

"Gordon is off the fence," Averitt announced. Varnedoe, he told them, had predicted that under the Rowans, SCAD would collapse in less than two years, or, Averitt paraphrased, "We can move in for the quick kill—"

"I love it!" someone interjected.



"—and get rid of the family and turn this school into a real institution," Averitt continued. "The guys who have loaned Richard [Rowan] the money, from the bank, are Gordon's fraternity brothers from way back when." Averitt raised his eyebrows.

"Oh, shit!" someone said exuberantly.

"He's doing everything he can to get them to foreclose on Richard." Averitt told them that Varnedoe believed "this can happen very quickly."

Batman Varnedoe did indeed talk to one of his banker friends—as a shareholder, Varnedoe later said, he simply wanted to inform the bank of what he believed were SCAD's financial problems.

Like Varnedoe, the banker was a member of Kappa Alpha—an elite old Southern fraternity—and perhaps out of brotherly obligation, he heard Varnedoe out. But the chances that the loan officers would foreclose on SCAD's loans were slim; all they'd get in return, a Savannahian explained to me, "was a bunch of buildings useless for anything but an art school." Still, the conversation with the banker represented a further escalation in the campaign against the Rowans, a point of no return. An angry coalition of Savannahians, students, and professors had mobilized; together, they transformed a limited campus dispute into a grave contest, with the city itself as the prize.

THE GREAT PURGE

When the Rowans suspended the three student leaders after the bombings, they hardly knew what they were getting into. The students—Richard Averitt, an art history student named Marissa Magaz, and Rick Fisher, the videographer—believed that by implicating them in the bombing investigation, SCAD had defamed them. Through the ACLU, they located an attorney who agreed. Two days before graduation that spring, the students filed a \$12.4-million lawsuit charging SCAD with slander and defamation.

Meanwhile, SCAD professors, inspired by the students, began to press for their own representative body. Faculty had to tread lightly in their reform effort—or risk not being "renewed"—so secret meetings were held off campus, some beneath the bowers of Savannah's old squares. A faculty senate was formed in late May and almost immediately passed a resolution in support of the blocked students. The Rowans had no sympathy for the professors' act of solidarity and reacted with swift fury: A week before graduation, they sacked twelve professors active in the faculty senate movement—including David Stout, who had first proclaimed, "SCAD is a school, not a conspiracy." (The firings eventually prompted the American Association of University Professors to censure the school.)

Again the campus fell into chaos. In response to the faculty purge, students held a rally in Pulaski Square, in front of the Rowans' offices, where they mockingly waved paper masks of Richard Rowan's face. They chanted "Rowan, you're fired! Rowan, you're fired!" He was out of town, but Paula was inside, frightened. The Rowans were feeling increasingly beset. They had hired a bodyguard for their children, and thought that on one occasion someone had tried to run them off the road. "I think we lived daily with the threat of physical harm," Paula said.

The next day, the mayhem continued: another pipe bomb went off. This one blew out six doors at the Civic Center, the planned venue for the graduation ceremony. The Rowans were outraged; they canceled graduation, citing safety concerns. Never at a loss for organizational zeal, the students leaders planned their own graduation ceremony. They rented the Civic Center for \$4,500 and convinced the Savannah Symphony Orchestra to send a quartet for free. Hats were passed around to help defray the cost of renting the building. Julie Lansaw gave a speech. Batman Varnedoe read the names of the graduating students, handing them pink roses instead of diplomas. The ceremony was particularly satisfying, he said later, "because I got to play Richard Rowan."

The alternative graduation received triumphant front-page billing in the *Savannah News-Press* and increased public pressure on SCAD's trustees to censure, or perhaps even to remove, the Rowans. Joyce Maynard, who had been a trustee for eleven years, attended the alternative commencement. The columnist was so moved by the testimonials of students and fired professors that the next day she pressed for a board meeting to discuss the Rowans' fate.

BOARD GAMES

Trustees who supported the Rowans refused to meet on the besieged campus; they moved the meeting to Atlanta, four hours away. It was a short trip for students who'd spent a semester feuding with the Rowans—they piled into their cars and headed north to make a case for the Rowans' ouster.

The night before the meeting, a group of about twenty-five of the Rowans' critics convened with several board members at a Days Inn outside of Atlanta to make their case for change. The trustees listened attentively, asked tough questions, and by the time the gathering let out, after midnight, seemed sympathetic, if not entirely persuaded. "All of a sudden this was the saving grace," Lansaw said. The Rowans were in trouble.

The next day, the trustees assembled in the Atlanta headquarters of KPMG Peat Marwick, the accounting firm, under heavy security. The meeting began with an unsettling confrontation.

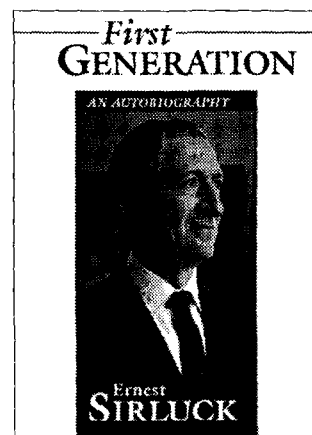
The day before, a trustee named William Lancaster had faxed a letter to the Rowans, threatening to resign if the board didn't become more than "a rubber-stamp committee." The Rowans wrote back, accepting his resignation. Certain it was a misunderstanding, Lancaster showed up at the meeting, only to be barred by security and disgracefully turned away by, as he later put it, a "warren of gendarmes." The move was seen as particularly ruthless because Lancaster had been the Rowans' minister.

The board chair, a fierce Rowan advocate named Hugh Dorsey III, began the meeting by chastising Joyce Maynard for her "disloyalty" to the

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couple. Then he called the first order of business: the removal from the board of Maynard and the other dissident trustees. The deciding vote was cast by Frank McGuire, a former basketball coach at the University of South Carolina, who was lying in a hospital bed, laid up after a stroke. His wife voted for him by telephone—in favor of removing Maynard. It was one of Coach McGuire's last public acts; he died shortly afterward.

Maynard was outraged by the almost surreal proceeding. She stormed out of the meeting, went directly to the airport, and flew home to New Hampshire. The students and professors were still waiting anxiously back at the Days Inn. "I sat in the hotel all day thinking if it went wrong it would be over fast,"

After the board meeting, Julie Lansaw said that she and the other student leaders felt "crushed, helpless." The Rowans had suspended the student leaders, purged the dissident faculty, and had now purged the dissident trustees as well. What hope was there? "We sort of thought, well, maybe some other art college will come to Savannah," Lansaw said.

THE NEW SCHOOL

Batman Varnedoe, together with Jim Rogers, had the same idea. They figured there were enough disgruntled faculty and students at SCAD to form their own school. Rather than start from scratch, they decided to court an established college to open a branch in Savannah. They

Rogers said, "We didn't think we'd make a favorable impression in the Batvan."

Their experience at one small Christian college proved typical of the enthusiasm of the schools. "They said, 'You don't use nude models, do you?'" Rogers recalled, "and we said yeah, and they said, 'You're not gonna have any Jewish professors, are you?' and we said yeah. Then they said, 'What about gay students?' and I thought, 'We have gay professors!'"

By the time he and Rogers returned to Savannah, Varnedoe was ready to give up on the whole project. Surfside Six, his floating restaurant, was continuing to drain him financially. His business advisor was urging him to sell the thing for scrap. And he didn't have any more energy to give to the academic



said Jim Rogers, a departed SCAD professor. "It went wrong, and boy was it over fast."

Paula Rowan had no sympathy for the "takeover artists," as she called them. They were using "unscrupulous means," she later said, to "seize control of the institution," ultimately "creating a frenzied environment which nurtured student bombers and stimulated erratic acts." In the end, she said, her anger subsided into a ruminative calm. "We were so exhausted and drained from everything we'd gone through that spring. The overriding feeling we felt was sadness."

called a number of colleges to propose the scenario and drafted a letter that promised prospective schools a ready-made faculty and student body if they came to town. Under the heading CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION, the letter stressed that SCAD's "painting faculty has voted unanimously to come over to the new school. They believe they can bring all 250 of their students."

Two small Georgia colleges were interested in the idea, and in late June, Varnedoe and Rogers made a road trip to pitch the plan. They rented a white Lincoln Town Car for the ride because, as

project. "I've lost interest," he confessed to Rogers. Things looked bleak, when two miracles occurred. First, David Rhodes, president of New York's prestigious School of Visual Arts, returned one of Rogers's phone calls and proposed to visit Savannah. And then, during an unusually low tide, Surfside Six dropped onto some submerged pilings, piercing its hull. The floating restaurant sank, entitling Varnedoe to the \$275,000 insurance policy. "I was truly blessed," Varnedoe said. The craft was recovered, chopped into pieces, and then burned. Now, he said,

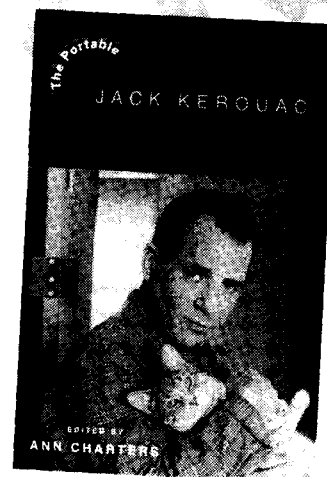
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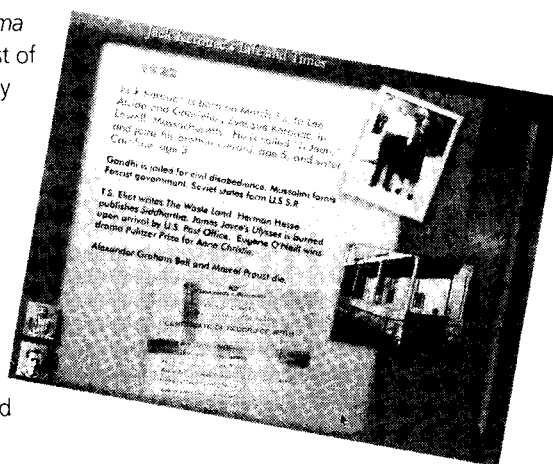
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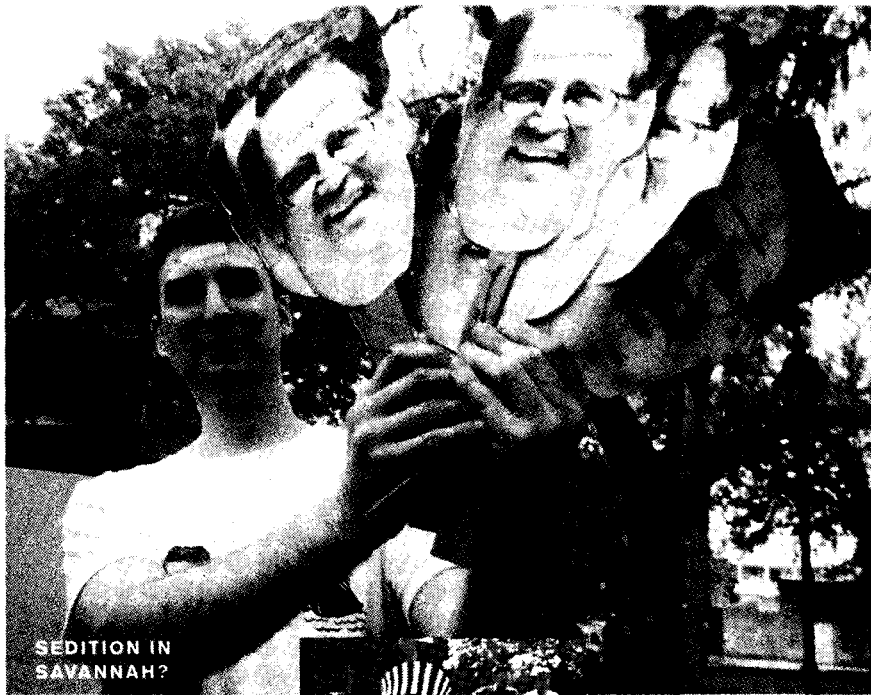


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"It's in the ozone."

Before hearing from Rogers, David Rhodes was no more likely to open a campus in Savannah, Georgia, than on the moon. The School of Visual Arts is a New York institution with a sophisticated cosmopolitan image. Founded in 1949 by David's father, Silas Rhodes, SVA is known for producing hip urban artists like Keith Haring and Kenny Scharf. The New York campus, now on East 23rd Street, has grown to 2,700 students. Unlike SCAD, SVA is a for-profit corporation, owned by the Rhodes family. In 1978, David Rhodes, then thirty-one, took over the business when his father stepped down from the presidency to assume the role of board chair and wise elder counselor. It was the son's turn to make his mark. The younger Rhodes, a former philosophy student who colleagues say is quiet, deliberate, and exceedingly optimistic, held the helm steady for a decade. But then he began to look into an expansion of SVA, and for ways to provide an intimate, personalized atmosphere, which was absent from the cramped and hectic New York campus. An affiliated campus



in a more quiet locale, he thought, might be the remedy. In 1991 and 1992 David Rhodes considered opening a campus in San Antonio, New York's Westchester County, or Tampa. Varnedoe and Rogers provided an intriguing new possibility.

Unaware of the strange events that preceded him, David Rhodes arrived in Savannah on August 14, 1992, a rainy afternoon. Savannahians, desperate to loosen the Rowans's hold on their town, eagerly embraced the SVA president. Varnedoe organized a

reception for Rhodes at a local country club, and Esther Shaver, owner of a popular downtown bookstore, hosted a luncheon in his honor at her stately Greek Revival home on Madison Square. Varnedoe and Julie Lansaw showed up at the luncheon, along with a few current SCAD professors, who "slinked in through the side doors and left through different doors at different times," one recalled, for fear of being seen by their employers. A circumspect man, Rhodes didn't say much as he heard their stories of the previous year in Savannah. But somehow he wasn't

intimidated by the city's dark goings-on. He vowed to return. Observing his subsequent visits, a surprised SCAD professor theorized that Rhodes had been "visually seduced" by the city. Rhodes hired Varnedoe as a "community liaison" and, with his guidance, he bought three buildings downtown—just blocks from SCAD. On May 24, 1993, Varnedoe set up a press conference at which Rhodes announced his decision to open an SVA campus in Savannah. To Paula Rowan, the news was "a total surprise."

A CONSPIRACY SO IMMENSE...

The Rowans had brushed off the student movement and the rumblings of the fired faculty, but with Rhodes's announcement, a disturbing new reality set in: Their critics were winning. If a competitor came to town, especially one with the cachet of the internationally famous School of Visual Arts, the Rowans might lose the one thing their art college had over all the others—Savannah. The city was theirs. They were the first to capitalize on the place's brochure-ready quality. Indeed, no one, save perhaps John Berendt, author of the best-selling *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, has contributed so much to Savannah's renaissance. Along the way, the Rowans had made a great personal investment in Savannah's marketability, and they weren't ready to cede any turf. In fact, they were prepared to fight for it with the no-holds-barred aggression of a multinational corporation. And the Rowans would use one of corporate America's favorite weapons: litigation.

The chain of events that led from the student movement to David Rhodes's announcement provided the Rowans with the legal ammunition they needed. The students were in contact with Varnedoe, who was in contact with Rhodes. And then there were all those fired professors who showed up at student rallies and at cocktail parties for the SVA president. Some of those professors had even filed complaints with SCAD's accrediting agency about the couple's behavior. To the Rowans, the relations of their various enemies had less the look of coincidence (or evi-

PHOTOGRAPH ON TOP BY SAVANNAH NEWS/PRESS

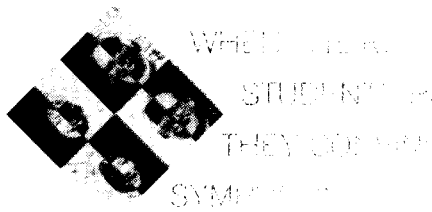
dence of their widespread unpopularity) than of a nascent cabal. If the Rowans could definitively link the activities of all their critics, perhaps they could be eliminated by a single atomic bomb of a lawsuit.

If the Rowans had any doubts about their perceptions of a plot, a startling find soon solidified their faith. As part of the discovery process in the defamation suit filed by the students, Rick Fisher, the videographer, had to turn over thirty-six hours of footage of the student movement. When SCAD's attorneys pored through the tapes, amidst the students' sometimes hilarious ridiculing of the Rowans and the occasionally tedious expressions of victimization, they found what they deemed a "smoking gun."

In one scene on the tapes, Richard Averitt recounts his conversation with Gordon Varnedoe regarding Varnedoe's visit to the banks. In another, Marissa Magaz—one of the students whose registration was blocked after the first bombing—angrily outlines the steps necessary to remove the Rowans, then exclaims, "Boom! Boom! Boom! They'll be fucking reeling!"

In another, Julie Lansaw leans back on a sofa and laughingly recounts a conversation between fellow students Chip Baughman and Rick Averitt in which they characterize the student movement. "We were joking," Lansaw tells the camera, "and Rick said, 'Oh it's like a conspiracy,' then Chip goes, 'It's not like a conspiracy—it *is* a conspiracy,' and I'm thinking, 'My God, if this guy's wired, that's all they'd need. We'd all be dead.'"

From the Rowans' point of view, Lansaw had given a precise name to the encroaching threat: conspiracy. Hadn't the students just admitted as much? Based on the students' videotapes, the Rowans believed they saw a carefully orchestrated five-step scheme to damage SCAD that included interfering in the school's banking relations; damaging recruiting; initiating a hostile media campaign ("You're part of it," SCAD's Avis Coleman told me); attempting to remove the school's accreditation; and enticing a competitor. The supposed conspirators mocked the conspiracy charge as just another paranoid episode on the part of the



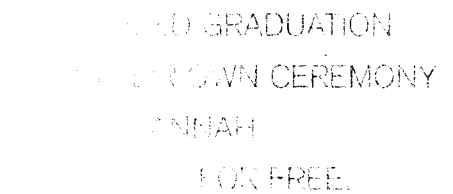
Rowans. But the couple was taking the threat seriously; in February 1993, SCAD filed a \$103-million lawsuit against SVA, alleging the New York school had masterminded or at least benefited from the elaborate scheme. SCAD sued for conspiracy and "tortious interference," the same legal theory tobacco companies have used to threaten the media and whistle-blowers.

PRIVATE EYES

To advance their case, the Rowans needed more information. Keeping track of their enemies was a daunting task—there were so many—so they enlisted some help: several attorneys and a team of private investigators.

The private eyes embarked on an ambitious and far-reaching campaign of surveillance against the Rowans' critics. They tailed SVA president David Rhodes. They followed Batman Varnedoe and photographed him emerging from local restaurants, and in the parking lot of a local hotel where SVA officials were meeting. They staked out Varnedoe's beach house on Tybee Island and took numerous photographs of the Batvan, occasionally zooming in to focus on the School of Visual Arts sticker in the window. (After Varnedoe learned of the surveillance in court proceedings, he sold the Batvan. "It was suffering from overexposure," he said.) A former SCAD professor was followed at an academic conference in Seattle. Esther Shaver's bookstore was staked out, and a SCAD security guard later said he was ordered to "track down" Shaver's daughter. The Rowans' critics weren't surprised by SCAD's behavior—employees had earlier contended that Richard Rowan once asked them to bug a conference room in which SCAD's accreditors were meeting—but the campaign further alienated the couple from the community they so relied upon for success.

In May 1993, armed with information from the surveillance campaign,



SCAD moved to add names to the conspiracy suit: Varnedoe, several fired professors, and ex-trustees Joyce Maynard and Pat Conroy. (Conroy had told a *New York Times* reporter that he'd quit SCAD's board "because I thought I'd end up in jail," so SCAD added a libel claim to his suit, making the comment "the most expensive quote of my life," he said.) SCAD also countersued the students, saying they, too, had been part of the "conspiracy." The Rowans' critics said the lawsuits were meant simply to eradicate SCAD's new competitor. But SCAD argued that SVA wasn't playing fair. "This wasn't Hardee's opening up across from McDonald's," SCAD spokesperson Avis Coleman said. "This is about a conspiracy to take something over."

There were some problems with the Rowans' conspiracy theory: For one, some of the supposed participants had never met each other. "I kept reading that I was conspiring with some guy who goes by the name of fucking *Batman!*!" Pat Conroy said. "I told him I didn't know what kind of weirdness he was up to." (Joined in litigation, Conroy and Varnedoe have since become friends.) Furthermore, even though SCAD administrators had earlier insisted on a connection between the student "conspirators" and the bombings, the ATF received a tip leading investigators to arrest two other SCAD students, ones who weren't affiliated with the student movement at all. Administrators were quick to point out that the vandals had voted on the constitution, but so had half the student body. (The two students eventually pled guilty to the bombings.)

Whatever its weaknesses, SCAD's bellicose legal strategy had its foes on the run. While SCAD's legal bills were paid from the school coffers, the defendants in the lawsuit were unsure how they were going to afford a protracted court battle. In an effort to find affordable help, Jim Rogers and Paul Marquardt, another former professor,

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THE STUDENT WERE DEMORALIZED BY THEIR
BATTLE WITH SCAD. "WE THOUGHT WELL,
MAYBE SOME OTHER ART COLLEGE WILL
COME TO SAVANNAH," JULIE LANSAW SAID.

contacted Ralph Nader's office in Washington. Nader's office steered the professors toward Leonard and Beth Minsky, a father-daughter team who work on higher education issues at the National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest, a Washington watchdog group.

In July 1993 Varnedoe contacted Julie Lansaw, and along with Rogers and Marquardt, they met the Minskys in Washington, D.C. The group sat for about seven hours and discussed the SCAD saga—the school's non-profit status; the faculty firings; the paranoia and the stifling of speech on campus. The curiosity of Leonard Minsky, an aging radical and an avuncular former professor with glasses and an Einsteinish shock of white hair, was immediately piqued. "The students had been told they were criminals," he said. "But we told them they had done what the Constitution of the United States mandates." Leonard Minsky gave them moral support, while Beth, an attorney, proposed a strategy. Rather than simply defend the "conspirators," she would charge that all of SCAD's quirks—the questionable role of the board of trustees, the absence of tenure, the offering of an allegedly specious degree in art history, the false promise of a functioning student government—amounted to a "racket" set up for the personal gain of Richard and Paula Rowan. And she would do so using a powerful legal instrument—the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, or RICO. Under Georgia RICO laws, damages are tripled, and the beneficiaries of a RICO enterprise can be removed from their positions.

GETTING OUT

The scene was set for a dizzying courtroom confrontation. The suspended students had sued SCAD for defamation; SCAD had sued SVA and its fellow "conspirators," and had counter-

sued the students; the "conspirators" had sued back under RICO.

As the litigants scrambled to extract themselves from the mountain of legal bills, SCAD saw an opportunity to divide its enemies. The suspended students' lawsuit, in particular, was faltering. Lacking the zeal of the previous spring, the students looked demoralized and weary in their depositions. In late September 1993, SCAD made an unusual offer. The school would drop its conspiracy countersuit against the students if they each admitted a conspiracy and agreed to testify against SVA in the other trial. The settlement also required students to "contribute" \$100 a month for 100 months to Richard Rowan; not to discuss SCAD ever again; and to take out roughly \$20,000 worth of ads in *The New York Times*, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, and the *Savannah News-Press*, in which they would apologize for "wrongful acts" and their "malicious, orchestrated campaign...to overthrow the founders of the college, without whom there would be no college." Despite these humiliating terms, the students seriously considered the proposal. At least one, Marissa Magaz, was willing to acquiesce to get out of the ordeal.

Lansaw called Magaz in a panic. "You're not going to sign it, are you?" she asked.

"We're tired," Magaz said. "You don't know what we've been through."

"You can't give up," Lansaw urged. It wasn't, after all, just the students who stood to lose from the settlement: If they admitted a conspiracy, the students could seriously jeopardize the other defendants' chances in the \$103-million conspiracy suit. Soon the students resolved to stay in the fight. They fired their lackluster attorney and, with guidance from Beth Minsky, rejected the settlement. (The students expect their case to go to trial next year.)

David Rhodes, meanwhile, was forging ahead with his new school, undaunted by the troubles building



around him. He hired a director of studies, Roger Williams, who moved from Ohio to Savannah and, oblivious to the extreme tensions in his new hometown, bought a house at 203 West Charlton—right next door to the offices of Richard and Paula Rowan. On September 6, 1994, the School of Visual Arts welcomed its first freshman class—thirty-one students—to the Savannah campus. In total, Rhodes hired eleven professors, several of them former faculty members at SCAD. At the time, Rhodes told a *Savannah News-Press* reporter, "Everything is going to go well for us here."

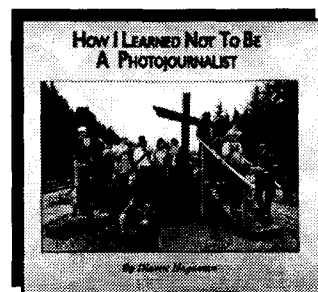
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The great conspiracy suit was at last headed to court. In October 1995, Judge Charles Mikell told SCAD and the remaining "conspirators"—SVA, David Rhodes, Gordon Varnedoe, Joyce Maynard, and four former SCAD professors—"to put up or shut up." (Pat Conroy had earlier extricated himself from the case.) Mikell set a trial date for February 1996. Savannahians prepared themselves for a showdown. Then, nine days before trial, as attorneys were polishing their opening statements and jury selection was under way, an unexpected development occurred: SCAD and SVA settled their lawsuit. The other defendants were stunned.

As part of the settlement, neither side may discuss the terms or the case, but that very night there were ominous signs: The Rowans held a party at SCAD, serving champagne and showing an edited version of Rick Fisher's videotape to drive home the depth of the "conspiracy." Rhodes was silent, but an exhibit of work by SVA students in the Savannah airport came down that evening.

Several days later, David Rhodes called a meeting in a third-floor classroom of SVA's headquarters on East President Street. First he broke the bad news to the faculty and staff: SVA-Savannah was going to close its doors in 1999. When they walked out, distraught, a line of puzzled students filed in. Until that moment, SVA freshman Nick Bilton said, the lawsuit had "seemed like just a big joke." But Rhodes told them "there weren't enough students and there's not enough money," Bilton recalled, and that SVA-Savannah wouldn't enroll any more students. Students understood the coded message; although some legal agreement with SCAD prevented Rhodes from coming right out with it, he was telling them that he had agreed to shut down their school.

Though Rhodes cannot discuss the settlement (or even that one exists), other defendants and attorneys say his decision was an obvious if difficult choice. He was risking millions of dollars, and perhaps even the solvency of his New York school, to save a fledgling, eighty-nine-student campus in Savannah. Jury trials are always a crash-out, and in this one, SVA could easily be painted as the upstart, Yankee interloper. Leonard Minsky explained: "David saw the sunny side of the South, but his lawyers saw lynch mobs. They advised him to get out." Some of Rhodes's colleagues called his decision "despicable," but they understood: He had been entrusted with his father's success and faced losing it over what, in retrospect, might have looked like a harebrained scheme. He cut his losses.



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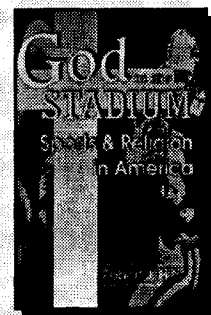
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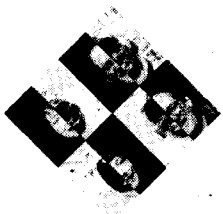
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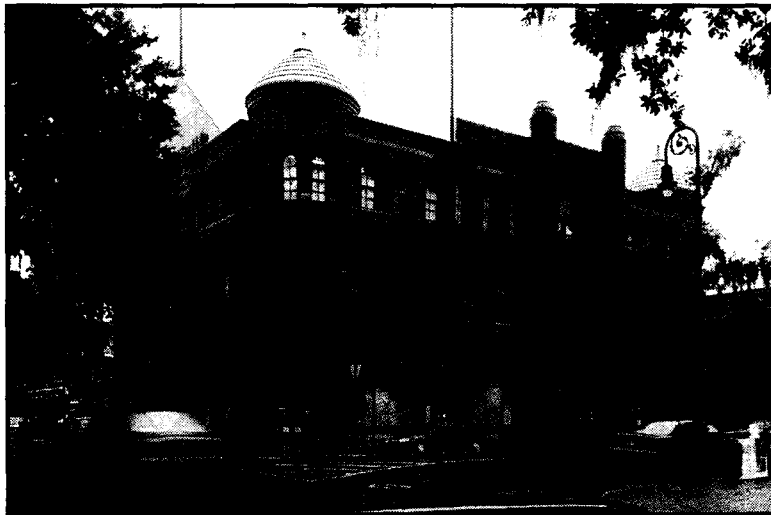


With the Rowans' chief rival, SVA, out of the suit and soon to be out of the city, SCAD was eager to finish up the business. In a series of late-night negotiating sessions, SCAD reached settlements with Joyce Maynard and the former professors, who only had to drop their RICO claims to get out of the suit. Batman Varnedoe was the sole holdout—he wanted his \$125,000 legal bill covered. "They kept saying, 'Talk to us. We want to settle the case,'" said Stanley Karsman, Varnedoe's attorney. "I kept saying, 'Fuck y'all.'"

Savannahians were eager to see Varnedoe have his day in court—they wanted to see their local hero vindicated. On February 13, the jury arrived at the courthouse for the trial. Spectators sat impatiently in the courtroom; Pat Conroy was there to lend support to his friend Batman. But the judge told them they'd have to wait a bit longer. The Rowans, it seemed, had offered to pay Varnedoe's legal fees in exchange for his signature on a letter of apology, and Varnedoe was considering it. While the jury waited, he and his wife haggled with the Rowans and SCAD's lawyers over the phrasing of the letter, and sent drafts back and forth. Meanwhile, Stanley Karsman was back at his office, honing his opening statements. When SCAD's lawyers faxed a proposal for the letter, Karsman told them, "We won't sign it. I plan to try this case. Good-bye." SCAD attorneys hastily rewrote the letter, almost to Varnedoe's satisfaction. In the end, the whole dispute between SCAD and SVA came down to choosing what single word could judiciously describe Varne-

doe's feelings for the Rowans. SCAD's lawyers got out a thesaurus and proposed "admire." Varnedoe accepted the word—reasoning to himself that one definition of "admire" is "to regard with wonder"—and signed the letter. This decision bitterly disappointed his attorney, who later explained his contempt for the Rowans by invoking Sherman. "They marched through Georgia, leaving people bloodied and beaten by the roadside, ruining people's lives," Karsman declared. Once again, a trial was over before it began.

That night, some of the defendants and their attorneys gathered at a friend's house to decompress. Leonard



Minsky called Julie Lansaw to let her know about the disappointing settlements. The group sat around the dining room table drinking wine and discussing the case until about midnight. The same evening, Gordon Varnedoe was seen in his tuxedo, careening around the squares of downtown Savannah in a stretch limousine.

In the following weeks, reality set in for SVA students, the most immediate victims of the settlement. On St. Patrick's Day weekend, Savannah's Mardi Gras,

the city was rollicking and full of honking cars with green tassels on the antennas and SAVANNAH BOUND! written in white shoe polish on the rear windshields. But SVA students were not down with the crowds on River Street, drinking beer and dancing; instead, they were sitting around the student association headquarters, moping. I asked what was wrong.

The students said that with financial help from some wealthy, sympathetic Savannahians, they had printed thousands of flyers that proclaimed: ROOM FOR TWO ART SCHOOLS. The students had blanketed Savannah with the circulars, but said they were followed by SCAD security guards who "took them down faster than we could put them up," according to freshman Nick Bilton. I called SCAD's Avis Coleman to ask about the report. She said security guards only took down flyers on SCAD's property, but did call the flyer campaign a form of "harassment."

Across the hall from the moping students, an SVA staffer named Hollis Koons was in a fury. She'd just read Batman Varnedoe's settlement letter in SCAD's paper, the *Georgia Guardian*, and was shocked. Koons—who had the unpleasant job of calling next year's enrollees and breaking the bad news—laid into Varnedoe for saying he "admired" the couple. Varnedoe was obviously

hurt. Dejectedly, he shuffled back to his office, where his wife was waiting. There he found a note on his desk, written by a freshman named Jodi, who had witnessed the confrontation. The note was meant as a morale booster: "Dear Gordon," it read, "I respect you very much."

"Would you look at that," he said almost choking up. He handed the note to his wife. "I mean, these kids!" I asked Varnedoe's wife, Catharine, if she was happy it was all over. She looked toward the note, and said gravely, "I'm not sure it'll ever be over."

That same week, I had lunch at the

SCAD administration building, the elegant old town house where the first bomb had gone off, with a dozen or so faculty members and staffers who agreed to discuss the dispute—even though one professor told me, “We don’t want to talk about it. We don’t want to relive it.” I was seated at the head of the giant dining room table, and we ate on the good china. I asked what SCAD might have done wrong over the past few years, and a young woman directly opposite me snapped, “We didn’t do anything wrong.”

I tried a different tack, asking them to tell me how it all started. The staffers said they thought the unrest had been exported from embittered—and underperforming—faculty to vulnerable students. They praised the Rowans for their stalwart support of SCAD during the difficult period, “those awkward adolescent years,” as one put it. When I asked them if they felt free to criticize the school if the situation warranted, they said yes, but Darrell Johnson, a painting professor, pointed out, “If you work for Motorola and you try to take your ideas to Zenith, it’s not going to work out for you.” The

overarching mood was relief, and it didn’t hurt, someone pointed out, that “we’ve won the war.” To the remaining SCAD faculty, the future looks bright. Richard Rowan has predicted that by the year 2000, the college will have expanded to five thousand students.

After the prolonged battle, it’s understandable that the participants feel they’ve been involved in something grandiose and historical. “This was a confrontation of the profit-making motive of education in the Nineties and the idealism of the Sixties,” said Leonard Minsky. “The students and the faculty at SCAD completely and unself-consciously took up the mantle of Sixties activism.” He added: “The Rowans were just greedy hyenas.”

For her part, Paula Rowan spoke of the battle in Biblical terms. “When people found they could not continue in an environment which is so vital, so innovative, so exciting, they became angry and resentful,” she mused. “They focused their anger and resentment on Richard and me because they thought that only by ridding the SCAD world of its founders could the banished ones remain to enjoy

the fruits of the founders’ labors.”

During the St. Patrick’s Day parade, I followed the SVA float around, to see Savannah’s reaction towards its brief resident. The whole city showed up for the parade and, decked in green, lined the streets like a series of giant hedges. The parade route was a tour of the SCAD-SVA battle; it wended its way past Esther Shaver’s bookstore, the old armory, and the synagogue, then headed toward the Civic Center, the courthouse, and the home where Julie Lansaw lived and found the body of Juan Bertotto. A few ROOM FOR TWO banners hung from the balconies of old Savannah town houses. Some SCAD students booed as the SVA float passed, but mostly there were cheers for the burly, smiling fellow out front.

The people yelled, “Batman! Batman!”

Warren St. John has written for *The New Yorker*, *The New York Observer*, and other publications. His article “Vanity’s Fare” appeared in the September/October 1993 issue of *Lingua Franca*.

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THE COLOR OF THE LAW

CRITICAL RACE THEORISTS HAVE DEVELOPED SUBTLE INSIGHTS INTO RACE AND POWER IN AMERICA. BUT DO THEY HAVE ANYTHING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE LAW?

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, A CRITICAL race theorist and a critical legal studies theorist moved to Manhattan at around the same time and swapped stories about their experiences leasing an apartment. The critical legal studies theorist, a white man, had wanted his relationship with his landlords to be trusting and friendly. So, in an effort to avoid intimidating them with his white-male-lawyerness, he handed over \$900 in cash the first time he met them and left without a receipt, on the strength of nothing more than a hunch he had that they were nice people.

The critical race theorist, a black woman, thought he was crazy. She, too, wanted interactions with her landlords to be friendly, but her way of dealing with the trust issue was completely different. Wishing to assure them of her worthiness as a tenant, she made haste to negotiate and sign a finely-printed lease that would specify and formalize their relationship as quickly as possible.

Thus, one of the more interesting splits on the contemporary legal Left. On the one hand, the nice white radical, doing his best not to commodify anybody, eschewing the alienating formalities of contract. On the other hand, the cautious black radical, aware that, as Georgetown law professor Mari Matsuda has put

it, “informality and oppression are frequent fellow travelers.” The critical race theorist in question—Columbia law professor Patricia Williams—unpacks the apartment anecdote in her 1991 book, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*: “I grew up in a neighborhood where landlords would not sign leases with their poor black tenants, and demanded that rent be paid in cash.... Unlike Peter [Gabel, the critical legal theorist], I am still engaged in a struggle...to portray myself as a bargainer of separate worth, distinct power, sufficient *rights* to manipulate commerce.”

This kind of analysis is, in a nutshell, what critical race theory is all about: decoding your own experience in order to illuminate how the law is not a neutral or uniform instrument but one that looks and behaves differently, depending on your position in that old race-class-gender matrix, America. It’s a school of thought that has emerged in the last fifteen years out of a growing dissatisfaction with both conventional liberal civil rights law and critical legal studies’ highly abstruse brand of radicalism.

For the first generation of critical race theorists—the ones who have tenure now and came of political age during the Sixties—the story of their evolving thought

is about the reevaluation of liberal principles that took place after the ebullience of the civil rights movement gave way to a more pessimistic assessment of the country’s willingness to reform. By the mid-to late-Seventies, it had become apparent to them that racism was too ingrained, widespread, and subtle a feature of American life to be neutralized by laws addressing only its more obvious manifestations. Thus, the traditional ideals of integration, color blindness, and equality came to seem inadequate and even counterproductive. Something else would have to take their place. Just as liberal legal scholars used sociological data to support the civil rights movement, critical race theorists use poststructuralist theory and their own experiences to engage with identity politics. They are the theorists of speech codes, affirmative action, and the resilient race-consciousness of the American university.

THE FIRST CRACKS

in the civil rights consensus appeared, in the legal academy at least, in the late Seventies, when legal scholar Derrick Bell began writing a series of articles criticizing *Brown v. Board of Education*. This was an unthinkable radical thing to do at

the time, at least for a liberal: *Brown* had acquired an almost commandment-like stature in the liberal civil rights community (though not, of course, among black nationalists). Support for integration, as the editors of the recently published anthology *Critical Race Theory* (New Press) recall, had come to “define the difference between being enlightened and being backward.”

Criticizing *Brown* was particularly strange for Bell, who had been very much a part of the civil rights movement and the interracial hopefulness of the Fifties and Sixties. He had entered law school in 1954, the year the *Brown* decision was handed down, and so came to legal consciousness at a time when, as he puts it, “everyone felt, even the most sophisticated, that this racism thing was all over. Even as late as when I first started teaching, I thought, Gee, after this stuff finally ends, I want to get into consumer law.” By the mid-Seventies, though, when it was clear that the stuff would actually not be ending any time soon, Bell had become sufficiently disillusioned to begin questioning not just the commitment of individual white people to implementing racial fairness but the guiding premises of civil rights law itself.

In an influential 1976 article, “Serving Two Masters,” Bell advanced the unsettling contention that, in their single-minded determination to push for the principle of integrated schools, civil rights lawyers had largely ignored what black parents—their clients—actually wanted, which was not so much integration per se as the chance to give their children a good education. It was a case, Bell argued, of conflict of interest in the attorney-client relationship, but a peculiar sort of conflict in that it was rooted in the attorneys’ otherwise irreproachable idealism. (The conflict also had a financial dimension, Bell pointed out, since the



IN 1976 DERRICK BELL ARGUED THAT CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYERS HAD LARGELY IGNORED WHAT BLACK PARENTS—THEIR CLIENTS—ACTUALLY WANTED.

attorneys were usually paid not by the actual plaintiffs but by national civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, whose larger goals did not always coincide with those of the clients down on the ground.)

In another article from the same period, Bell pointed out that the problems involved in implementing *Brown* were due not just to overzealous lawyers but to a more insidious and general cul-

tural cause. *Brown* had been won, he argued, not chiefly because whites had become convinced that integration was the moral thing to do, but because segregation was becoming embarrassing. At the outset of the Cold War it had become increasingly clear that the United States would have a hard time convincing the potentially communist Third World of the superiority of the American system if it condoned apartheid at home. But then, two decades later, when this neo-imperialist imperative no longer seemed so urgent, support for *Brown* began to fade.

Bell concluded the article with what would come to be called the “interest convergence thesis”: that equality for black people would be achieved only when it appeared to benefit white people as well. “Whites may agree in the abstract that blacks...are entitled to constitutional protection against racial discrimination, but few are willing to recognize that racial segregation is much more than a series of quaint customs,” Bell wrote. “Whites simply cannot envision the personal responsibility and the potential sacrifice inherent in [the] conclusion that true equality for blacks will require the surrender of racism-granted privileges.” A few years later, this seed

that Bell planted began to germinate into critical race theory proper.

IN THE LATE SEVENTIES, at the time he was writing these articles, Bell was teaching a course at Harvard based on his book *Race, Racism and American Law* (a work that has since become the Ur-text of critical race theory). Then, in 1980, Bell left to become dean of the law school at the University of Oregon. Rather than hire another black professor to teach the course, Harvard decided to substitute a three-week minicourse on civil rights litigation, which was taught by white faculty.

Naturally, all hell broke loose.

The student Third World Coalition announced a boycott of the minicourse and organized sit-ins to protest Harvard’s failure to hire minority faculty. Fortunately for the coalition, a considerable portion of the school’s student mainstream was already in a belligerent mood over the issue of the “no-hassle pass”—the students wanted the right to pass on a question posed by a professor without being publicly harassed and humiliated for it, as was the Harvard custom. The two groups coalesced into an ad hoc angry-at-the-faculty alliance which staged big, noisy demonstrations, marched through the sacrosanct faculty library, and took over the dean’s office.

For all their drama, the protests made virtually no impact on the administration, so the Third World Coalition organized what it called “the Alternative Course”: a program based on chapters from Bell’s book, taught by professors of color from other schools. Many of the people this arrangement brought together would become the chief proponents of critical race theory several years later. Charles Lawrence (now at Georgetown), Neil Gotanda (now at Western State University College of Law in California), and Richard Delgado (now at the University of Colorado) were among the visiting speakers. Mari Matsuda, now a colleague of Lawrence’s at Georgetown, took the course as a student. Kimberlé Cren-

shaw—now at Columbia—was one of its organizers.

The movement (its proponents think of it as a movement) began to crystallize a few years later, at a couple of critical legal studies conferences. For some time, proto-critical race theorists had been attending critical legal studies meetings, and had adopted much CLS theory. But by the mid-Eighties, fault lines separating the mostly white proponents of CLS from their nonwhite allies had begun to appear. The critical legal theorists—or “crits,” as they came to be known—had dis-

integrated elements of 1920s legal realism and argued that the legal process is just politics in another form. Since the dictates of precedent are never absolutely determinate, the application of precedent is an interpretive activity rather than a mechanical one. Thus, a judge’s decisions are inevitably influenced by his political vision. Following German critical theory and poststructuralism rather than traditional Marxism, moreover, the crits saw law not as a reflection of political struggles that took place “out there,” but as an activity that itself contributed to the formulation and perpetuation of power.

Because they saw law as another form of politics, the crits were suspicious of any legal term that purported to be politically neutral, in the sense of applying to all persons equally. One of their prime targets was the notion of rights. Crits saw talk of rights as little more than smoke and mirrors, designed to obscure the persistence of real economic and social inequality—a way of distracting attention from America’s embarrassing history by focusing on its abstract commitments to justice. “It is not just that rights-talk does not do much good,” crit Mark Tushnet had written in 1982. “In the contemporary United States it is positively harmful.”



IN AN EFFORT TO DEFEND WHITE-SPEECH
LAW, MARI MATSUDA, ON THE COURTS
TO ABANDON CONTENT NEUTRALITY
AND TO LET US “KNOW WHAT WE KNOW”
ABOUT BIGOTS AND OTHER HATEFACTORS.

To the proto-critical race theorists, though, this total rejection of rights was throwing out the baby with the bath water. They agreed with much of the crits’ analysis, but felt that rights had been too important to the history of black empowerment to reject completely. No theory that made nonsense of Rosa Parks’s right to sit in the front of the bus could capture the

important changes in self-conception that had taken place in the black community during the Fifties and Sixties. In effect, the critical race theorists were arguing that some of the basic terms of liberalism, such as rights, could no longer be (or perhaps should never have been) thought of simply as abstract principles—because they had, in the course of the civil rights movement, acquired a cultural resonance of their own. Rights, in other words, had ceased to be merely pieces of liberalism’s procedural tool kit and had, in becoming encrusted with history, become part of a substantial vision of the good.

Patricia Williams put this best, writing a decade later:

In discarding rights altogether, one discards a symbol too deeply enmeshed in the psyche of the oppressed to lose without trauma and much resistance.... To say that blacks never fully believed in rights is true. Yet it is also true that blacks believed in them so much and so hard that we gave them life where there was none before; we held onto them, put the hope of them into our wombs, mothered them and not the notion of them.

THE DEBATE OVER
rights was not the only rift that opened

between the crits and the soon-to-be critical race theorists. The other had to do with the concept of race itself. Crits, wary of biological fallacies, didn’t believe that race existed. It was, they felt, no more than a social construction, and an obviously pernicious one at that: yet another obfuscation that distracted from the real business of correcting economic injustice.

To nonwhite crits, though, this line of reasoning was not only unhelpful but insulting to their experience of reality. Race may be a construction, they allowed, but it is no less experientially real for that. They coined an ingenious term to explain what was wrong with their colleagues’ analysis: “vulgar anti-essentialism.” “It was obvious to many of us,” wrote a group of critical race theorists in a manifesto published some years later, “that although race was, to use the term, socially constructed (the idea of biological race is ‘false’), race was nonetheless ‘real’ in the sense that there is a material dimension and weight to the experience of being ‘raced’ in American society, a materiality that in significant ways has been produced and sustained by the law.”

Some of the white crits, notably Harvard professor Duncan Kennedy and Georgetown professor Gary Peller, agreed with these criticisms and went on to write articles in a critical race theory mode. (Others, such as the late SUNY-Buffalo professor Alan David Freeman, had been doing so for some time.) Nonetheless, the nonwhite crits decided that they needed to develop a critique of their own. In the summer of 1989, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, and Stephanie Phillips convened a workshop in a convent in Madison, Wisconsin, under the newly coined rubric “critical race theory.”

The workshop was funded by white University of Wisconsin crit David Trubeck, but only nonwhite scholars were invited. The participants needed a “safe space,” Crenshaw and Phillips reckoned, to discuss where it was,

exactly, that they diverged from the white legal Left. Something like forty people showed up at the convent, including critical race godfather Derrick Bell, Patricia Williams, Mari Matsuda, and Charles Lawrence. The meeting was, on purpose, loosely structured—no manifesto was produced until the next workshop, one year later—but it was clear that those present had enough in common to form a coherent school of thought. The movement had begun.

CRITICAL RACE

theorists nowadays are an eclectic group. Kimberlé Crenshaw, a black woman, writes about the “intersectionality” of race and gender. Mari Matsuda, a Japanese-American woman, analyzes the peculiarities of anti-Asian prejudice. Lani Guinier, the hapless Clinton nominee whose work shows up in one of the group’s anthologies, studies electoral systems. Crenshaw, Kendall Thomas, and Cheryl Harris have worked with women’s groups and political movements in South Africa.

But there are a few themes which probably all of them would agree are central to the project. For instance: Racism is normal. It does not, in other words, consist of isolated demonstrations of prejudice by an aberrant minority, but is an ingrained and largely unconscious feature of American culture. (This idea, it should be said, is rather easy on whites. If everyone is racist, then the question “Am I a racist?” ceases to be one for individuals to worry about.)

Another basic idea: Words are powerful. Critical race theory, like other variants of academic postmodernism, holds that much of what we experience as reality is actually constructed by, and preserved in, language. This belief leads critical race theorists to take hate speech very seriously and to advocate severe penalties for it. (Charles Lawrence helped to draft the Stanford University speech code). It has also inspired them to experiment with a variety of forms of writing: fiction, fables, autobiography, poetry. In tension with this respect for the power of speech and writing, though, is a skepticism about the liberal hope that racism may be overcome through interracial dialogue.

Above all, the watchword of the critical race movement is *context*. Critical race theorists argue that whereas traditional

liberals believe that the way to achieve fairness is to abstract from circumstance and construct laws that apply to everyone equally, in fact, such supposedly neutral procedures nearly always favor those with greater social or economic power. So in making and applying the law, we should allow ourselves to “know what we know.” We know, for instance, that the epithets “dumb nigger” and “stupid white guy” carry very different sorts of cultural freight in an American context, so we should treat them differently in the law.

The phrase “know what we know” was coined by Mari Matsuda, who argues that we should stop trying to develop speech codes that protect all kinds of speech equally—that of Nazis as much as that of pacifists—and start acknowledging that we know that racists are different. Matsuda believes that we as a culture are so certain about what hate speech is, and so certain that it is bad, that we can allow courts to treat it differently from other kinds of speech without worrying about weakening First Amendment protections in general. Of course, a liberal might reply that such an approach to speech regulation would leave defendants too vulnerable to biased judges and juries. It is, indeed, ironic that critical race theory, which developed in response to the inadequacy of judicial remedies in the civil rights era, relies in its theory of hate speech on the assumption that courts are on its side.

Another area where critical race theorists apply their context principle is affirmative action in universities. Here, a non-neutral, historically contextualized approach means focusing on reparation for mistreatment as a primary justification. Such a strategy would, critical race theorists believe, give affirmative action a more solid foundation than vague talk of the advantages of diversity (the usual justification for favoring nonwhites in college admissions). In a traditional liberal framework, elevating America’s history of injustice to the level of foundational legal principle sounds dangerously counterproductive—institutionalizing the rift between black and white rather than attempting to close it. Paradoxically, though, the critical race line of argument might well imply a far closer bond between the races than does an individualist, color-blind liberalism. That’s because the concept of continued histori-



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cal reparation depends upon a very strong sense of American community. As Matsuda writes, "One cannot be detached from privilege while enjoying the benefits of this country's high standard of living; in that sense, we are all part of the beneficiary class." Ongoing obligations and guilt make sense only if one assumes a consistent, unified national "we" to which they can be attached. And this is, of course, the same mysterious "we" that is the basis of "knowing what we know."

The call for context seems plausible in the context of hate speech and affirmative action, but transposed into off-campus criminal law, knowing-what-we-know can lead to consequences so radical that even most critical race theorists would not accept them. In criminal law, "knowing what we know" means knowing that a third of young black American men are either in prison or on probation; that policemen are often racist; that drug dealing can be the only viable source of income in inner-city neighborhoods; that black crack dealers are sentenced more harshly than white dealers of powder cocaine. Needless to say, it is necessary to keep these facts in mind when formulating law and public policy.

But a few controversial theorists believe that contextualized justice needs to be taken one step further. In a recent *Yale Law Journal* article, for instance, George Washington University law professor Paul Butler (who is not a member of the critical race theory group but sympathizes with many of its positions) argues that since the judicial system is doing African Americans so little good and so much harm, black jurors should practice jury nullification—acquitting a black defendant they believe to be guilty—if the crime in question is nonviolent and, as Butler puts it, *malum prohibitum* (legally proscribed) rather than



PATRICIA WILLIAMS DEVELOPS HER LEGAL WRITING OUT OF PERSONAL ANECDOTES ABOUT ARGUING WITH EDITORS, FIGHTING WITH CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS, OR DECIDING TO ADOPT A CHILD.

malum in se (inherently bad). Shooting a cop is not a nonviolent act; but it is only a small step from Butler's advice to the tactics of the late William Kunstler, who once convinced a jury to acquit a defendant who had wounded six police officers. Kunstler told jurors the case was about "how the police treat young Third World people in the depressed communities of the city."

Regina Austin, a critical race theorist at the University of Pennsylvania (the same professor, incidentally, that Harvard decided not to hire in 1990, prompting Derrick Bell to pledge that he would leave the university until it hired a black woman), advances an argument similar to Butler's. "Street women accept the justifiability of engaging in illegal conduct to rectify past injustices and to earn a living," Austin writes, in a maudlin article in the *Southern California Law Review* celebrating the "defiance, boldness, and risk taking" of crime. She adds: "[We need] a legal praxis [which finds] its reference points in the 'folk law' of those black people who, as a matter of survival, concretely assess what laws must be obeyed and what laws may be justifiably ignored."

THE HAZARDS

of "knowing what we know" become all the more apparent in critical race theorists' experimental writing—notably Patricia Williams's essays, Derrick Bell's latter-day fables, and Richard Delgado's "Rodrigo Chronicles." Whereas in the movement's more conventional manifestations, "knowing what we know" seems to be a fairly straightforward mandate, at

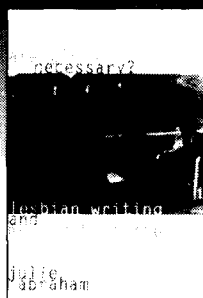
least epistemologically speaking—a matter of remembering the history of race in this country and detecting its residue in even the most neutral-seeming corners of the law—in the movement's experimental moments, history is replaced by anecdotes and fiction, and both the "knowing" and the "what we know" become far less clear.

In her two books, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (Harvard, 1991) and *The Rooster's Egg* (Harvard, 1995), Patricia Williams uses stories from her own life—usually experiences of racism, explicit or implicit—as grounding for her more theoretical analysis of law and power. Derrick Bell has created a fictional alter ego, a brilliant black female law professor with magical powers by the name of Geneva Crenshaw (no relation to Kimberlé) who appears with a professor character in a series of moralistic stories. (One of these, "The Space Traders"—which describes white America's decision to turn over all black Americans to visiting aliens in return for lots of money and some help cleaning up the environment—was recently made into an HBO movie starring Robert "Benson" Guillaume.) Richard Delgado has written a series of dialogues between a jaded, old-fashioned black professor and a young radical genius named Rodrigo who's part black, part Latino, and part Italian. In the legal academy, this kind of writing is virtually unprecedented—it has not by any means achieved the respectability that fictionalized theorizing and autobiography have acquired in some precincts of the humanities.

The purpose of the critical race theory writing experiments is usually described as empowerment through language: the creation of new myths to replace the old, damaging ones—"counterhegemonic art," to use bell hooks's ponderous term. The idea, as Williams puts it, is to "describe a community of context for those social actors whose traditional legal status has been the isolation of oxymoron, of oddity, the

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outsider.” Or, in the words of Delgado: “Critical writers encourage black people to tell and retell stories of their own oppression as an antidote to disabling self-doubt and hatred. Through recounting terrible tales of torture, rape, and spirit-murder, we gain healing: We realize that our current low estate is not our fault.”

But the writing itself is more complicated than that, and more interesting. Delgado’s and Bell’s experiments are often quite embarrassing to read—Williams is the only one of the three with real writerly talent. Yet the fascinating thing about these texts is how powerful they are as rhetorical devices, despite their incompetence as fiction. Delgado’s chronicles, for instance, are extremely (and usefully) disorienting to a reader accustomed to explicit legal arguments—partly because it is impossible to determine where the *author* (Delgado) stands on the issues being debated by the professor and Rodrigo, and partly because the professor character usurps the reader’s customary role as evaluator of arguments.

Williams’s writing is even more ambitious. Her intention is not just to insert black experience into legal discourse but also, as she insists, to “reveal the intersubjectivity of legal constructions”; in other words, to unmask law’s pretensions to objectivity and to provide an example of what avowedly subjective legal analysis might look like. To that end, she recounts events from her daily life—arguing with law review editors, fighting with conservative students, deciding to adopt a child—and probes them for political significance. Dealing with her law review editors, for instance, involved convincing them that the fact that she was black was essential to making sense of her story about being locked out of a Benetton store (the editors felt it was irrelevant).



RICHARD DELGADO DOUBTS THAT AMERICA WILL EVER ELIMINATE ITS RACIST STRAIN; RACISM, HE BELIEVES, IS PERMANENT.

Her method of analysis-via-anecdote, Williams claims, “forces the reader both to participate in the construction of meaning and to be conscious of that process.... I hope that the gaps in my own writing will be self-consciously filled by the reader, as an act of forced mirroring of meaning-invention.”

One problem with this approach is Williams herself. She is, in fact, anything but happy at the prospect of a reader filling in her gaps. Hyperconscious as she is of the way stories can be altered by interpretation, she fiercely defends the exclusive rightness of her own point of view. In *The Rooster’s Egg*, for example, she describes having to “recover” after being “put off by the ways people were ‘taking’ my story.”

But the deeper problem with the critical race project of highlighting law’s indeterminacy by means of personal storytelling is the fact that autobiography asserts, if anything, a *greater* claim to objectivity than does conventional legal writing. The latter, consisting of argument, is at least ingenuous about its desire to persuade, whereas autobiography stakes out the relatively unassailable position of the eyewitness. In attempting, then, to undermine the notion of objectivity with what are, in effect, imitations of the introspective *Discourse on Method*, the critical race theorists have got their epistemology backwards: They are, one might say, putting Descartes before the horse. Not to mention that, epistemology aside, personal storytelling barricades its interpretations behind academic etiquette: Questioning an autobiographer’s account is difficult because it sounds like an ad hominem attack.

Even evaluated on its own terms, though, the call for subjectivity in legal

interpretations is a dubious proposition. Here, yet again, we are back to the ambiguities of “knowing what we know.” As Vanderbilt’s Anne Coughlin asks, “What is the value for law of the insight that ‘anything that happens to [us] is inherently subjective?’ In what kind of legal system would it make no difference whether a woman who claimed that she had been raped was telling the truth?... Without careful theoretical elaboration, Williams’s suggestion may be as politically regressive as it is impractical, opening the way for more racist, sexist, homophobic, and class-discriminatory abuses than it mitigates.”

If Coughlin’s argument isn’t clear enough, it becomes so when Williams writes about Tawana Brawley, the black teenager from Wappingers Falls, New York, who in 1987 claimed, falsely, that a group of white men had raped her and smeared her with dog feces, among other awful things. Brawley was, Williams writes angrily, “the victim of some unspeakable crime.... No matter who did it to her—and even if she did it to herself.... Tawana’s terrible story has every black woman’s worst fears and experiences wrapped into it. Few will believe a black woman who has been raped by a white man.... [T]he quiet, terrible, nearly invisible story of her suffering may never emerge from the clamor that overtook the quest for ‘what happened’ and polarized it into the bizarre and undecidable litigation of ‘something happened’ versus ‘nothing happened.’”

That Brawley was miserable was never in doubt. But Williams here is heading into dangerous territory where a black woman who *has* been raped by a white man, and a black woman who was unhappy enough to *say* she was raped by a white man, and even “every black woman” blur together into an even thicker epistemic, mythical fog than they already inhabit: a fog in which events acquire quotation marks, and rape becomes a metaphor, and even the smallest concrete steps toward separating rapists from nonrapists and the

raped from the otherwise miserable appear hopeless and irrelevant.

AS ONE MIGHT EXPECT, some of critical race theory's harshest critics are not white. In 1989, black Harvard law professor Randall Kennedy published an influential article, "Racial Critiques of Legal Academia," that attacked, among other things, what he called critical race theory's "racial distinctiveness thesis": "the belief...that [their experience of racism] causes minority scholars to view the world with a different perspective from that of their white colleagues; and that this different perspective displays itself in valuable ways in the work of minority scholars." Kennedy objected to the racial distinctiveness thesis on the grounds that it was essentialist. "Racial classification," he wrote (in a peculiarly passive mode), "has come to be viewed as paradigmatically offensive to individuality."

The racial distinctiveness thesis is certainly controversial, but not exactly for the reasons Kennedy says it is. It is not essentialist, in a biological or even a cultural sense: that is to say, its proponents are not making the obviously false argument that all black people think alike. But it does advance the equally contentious claim that there is such a thing as a "black perspective"—one that Clarence Thomas, for instance, does not share.

The concept of "black perspective," as critical race theorists talk about it, involves not one but several ideas. On the less controversial end, "black perspective" simply implies that a first-hand experience of prejudice allows for an understanding of racism that is not available in quite the same way to people who have not been discriminated against. (This is simply a banal reminder that we cannot get inside someone else's head and fully comprehend an experience we have not had.)

On the more controversial end, though, the notion of "black perspective" is a bold rhetorical maneuver in which critical race theorists attempt to secure a monopoly on the term "black" for their particular point of view. In this sense, a "black perspective" is one that, as Duke theorist Jerome Culp puts it, "is opposed to racial oppression in the same sense that feminist means opposition to patriarchy and oppression of women."

This maneuver is useful to the critical race theorists for a number of reasons, but

especially so because it forms a conceptual bridge between mainstream notions of affirmative action in universities and their own more ambitious agenda. Whereas affirmative action has traditionally meant a system that simply encourages the hiring of minority professors, many critical race theorists see it as a means of introducing new political views, as well as new skin colors, into the faculty. Using the notion of "black perspective," they can argue that hiring Clarence Thomas is not—in any meaningful, political sense—affirmative action, since Clarence Thomas is not—in any meaningful, political sense—black. In other words, talk of a "black perspective" can be a fancy way of calling someone an Oreo: Black conservatives are not merely "wrong"; they are "not really black."

OF ALL THE THEORIES the critical race group has proposed, perhaps the most unsparing is what Derrick Bell calls, in reference to the legal realists, "racial realism." This is a profound, radical pessimism about the possibility of ever eliminating the racist strain in American life: the belief, in short, that racism is permanent. "Black people will never gain full equality in this country," Bell wrote in his 1992 book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* (Basic). "This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies. We must acknowledge it, not as a sign of submission, but as an act of ultimate defiance." Not all the critical race theorists explicitly subscribe to this thesis, but it lurks like a kind of Grim Reaper at the periphery of much of their writing.

In one sense, racial realism doesn't fit at all into the usual critical race framework: It's a grand statement about the Nature of Man, of a sort that goes against everything their theorizing has to say about the contingency and constructedness of ideology. But on the other hand, it fits very well into critical race theory's poetic, mythmaking side. The declaration that racism is a permanent, almost biological feature of life possesses a rhetorical force that in a strange, counterintuitive way is every bit as rousing as the old civil rights-era belief that, with just a few more good fights, racism will be over.

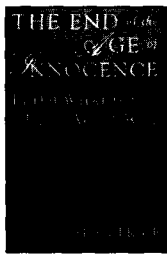
It is this paradoxically inspirational quality that theorists like Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado allude to when they are told that their extreme pessimism is counterproductive. Bell, in fact, has gone

so far as to propound a whole theory of spiritual development, centered around the idea that struggle itself—even if, or perhaps especially if, it is hopeless—is good for the soul. In *Faces*, Bell compares the certainty of racism to the certainty of death (though not taxes), and quotes Camus on the glory of Quixotic defiance: "Man is mortal. That may be; but let us die resisting; and if our lot is complete annihilation, let us not behave in such a way that it seems justice!"

Delgado is not so spiritually inclined as Bell, but he, too, believes that racial realism is the key to renewed effort in a time of diminishing racial expectations. "A typical progressive young person," Delgado explains, "goes to law school wanting to get out and do good. But the burn-out rate for these young lawyers—who start out as extremely idealistic, hardworking people—is very high. My hope is that showing young people how to develop their own radical critique of American society will help avert or at least postpone the kind of disillusion that usually sets in. Derrick Bell receives a lot of criticism for offering despairing scenarios, but there's actually enormous utility in getting the message out about how things really work. Because then people can make their peace with it and carry on—whether or not the short-term gains they had hoped for are being realized."

"Racism is permanent." Like other critical race theory mantras—law is subjective; neutrality is political; words are actions—it's powerful rhetoric and contains a large measure of truth. And yet one is still left wondering whether that truth is ultimately more useful to the cause of racial justice than the frayed but enduring fictions of liberalism. Critical race theorists have proved innovative mediators between several different strains in academia—the old, white Left in law schools; the new, multicultural Left in the humanities; contemporary work in literary theory—but for the most part it remains to be seen what would happen if they put their theories into practice. And if Lani Guinier's experience is anything to go by, it will be a long, long time before they get the chance.

Larissa MacFarquhar is a contributing editor of *Lingua Franca*. She also writes for *The Nation*, *New York*, and other publications.

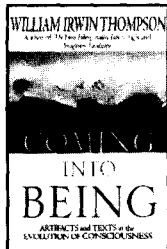


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OUR MBAs IN HAVANA

JORGE MARIO SUAREZ HAS JUST ACQUIRED A MASTER'S in economics and a shiny new set of intellectual toys from the world of free markets. But the thirty-five-year-old Cuban economist, who received his capitalist credentials at the University of Havana, is reluctant to throw out the old Soviet textbooks he studied during his undergraduate days:

A.M. Rumiantsev's *Political Economy*, F. Konstantinov's *Foundations of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy*, or the tattered handbook entitled *The Inevitable Collapse of Capitalism*. The reason? Keeping the books is a smart investment. "These books are going to be really rare and valuable one day," he speculates.

Suárez may be right. In recent years Fidel Castro has been forced to shelve his Brezhnevist command economy. He's invited foreign companies to run nickel mines and citrus plantations, allowed farmers to sell produce on the open market, and fired hundreds of thousands of state employees, telling them they could start their own mom-and-pop businesses. Although Castro defends communist ideals as fiercely as ever, today Cuba has a troubled dollar-dominated economy in which nuclear physicists drive taxis and MiG-piloting veterans of Angola politely serve drinks to tourists at army-run hotels.

Under these circumstances, Cuba has begun looking for new economic ideas. With government encouragement, home-grown think tanks have sprung forward to offer advice, and even foreign expertise is welcomed—to a point. In August 1994 the government invited several professors from Ottawa's Carleton University to begin a Western-style master's

program in economics at the University of Havana. Archibald R.M. Ritter, a Carleton economist and Latin Americanist, set up the program with funding from Canada's government-supported International Development Research Center.

On the face of it, this was nothing more than a standard academic exchange. After all, the Carleton profs were theorists—not practitioners—of capitalist economics, and as one of them

notes, "Canadians, as a rule, are not ideological." In effect, though, the professors were market missionaries, come to give the islanders a tantalizing glimpse of a powerful alien system. Elsewhere in the former Soviet empire, the romance of capitalism may have faded. But not in Cuba. In the two years since they arrived, the Carleton professors have helped generate a quiet wave of new thinking at the University of Havana, a transformation that one student calls the "Carleton Revolution."



TEACHING CAPITALISM IN A CUBAN CLASSROOM

BY **ARTHUR ALLEN**

LINGUA FRANCA JULY/AUGUST 1996 **49**

BY AND LARGE, Carleton's twelve-month program is similar to the master's offered to students back in Ottawa, who might use the degree as a ticket to a job in the Canadian bureaucracy. But there are differences. Rather than the neo-classicism he typically teaches in Ottawa, for example, macroeconomics professor Nicholas Rowe uses a Keynesian model, which assumes an economy with largely fixed prices. In his microeconomics course, professor Larry Willmore draws examples of consumer behavior from daily communist life. For example, there's the "microeconomic theory of food lines," an equation his students can put to the test every day. It posits that $ab=y-z$, with a the length of the line in hours, b the marginal wage rate of people standing in the line, y the black-market price of an item of food, and z the official price. Sure enough, at the Coppelia ice cream parlor—the Havana landmark across the street from the economics faculty, where lines can snake for an hour or more—hustlers sell spots in the queue for roughly the price of an ice cream sundae.

The Carleton Revolution has been a modest one—and the Canadians hope to keep it that way. At a time of great political sensitivity in Cuba, most of the professors interviewed for this article were concerned that government officials would cancel the program if it was portrayed as subverting the Communist Party in any way. "We're certainly not attempting to set out a plan for Cuba," says microeconomics professor Keith Acheson. Archibald Ritter stresses that Carleton was *invited* to Havana University. "This is their idea—it's not our idea," he says. "Regardless of Cuba's future, having a body of people who can do economic analysis within—or outside—government will benefit the country," adds the soft-spoken fifty-three-year-old economist. "They have no choice but to reorient from a Soviet-planned economy. They have to live in the world."

There are good reasons for Ritter's tip-toeing about. From the beginning, there

have been those who considered the Carleton professors CIA agents in Milton Friedman costumes. Their students have been denounced as "vectors of ideological penetration." In March, Defense Minister Raúl Castro delivered a speech to the party's Central Committee in which he warned that "fifth columnists" were infiltrating university-linked think tanks. So, though the Carleton professors are perfectly aware that their teaching has an implicit agenda, they don't want to call attention to themselves. "Sometimes I think we Canadians are surrogates for the Americans," one of the professors says. "But Americans would never be invited to do what we're doing."

WHETHER because of relentless U.S. pressure or their defensive reaction to it, Cuba's communist leaders find themselves in a cul-de-sac. To survive independently of the United States they must reform, but reform slowly lest liberalization get out of hand. The fear of collapse is palpable: Already, small-time hustlers have begun to supplement the state's provision of goods and services. At Havana University, for example, a wraithlike literature student with dark bags under his eyes has established himself as a procurer of hard-to-come-by books. This Cuban Raskolnikov, a nineteen-year-old from the provinces who prowls the city's humming Vedado section in a hooded sweatshirt, doesn't look like an entrepreneur, but he is one: He buys up editions by frowned-upon authors like the late Virgilio Piñera and Jesús Díaz, books that have languished for years in state warehouses, then sells them for dollars to foreigners and gives away free copies to

his favorite professors. It's Castro's worst nightmare: using the market not only to bypass the government but to distribute subversive literature.

At the university itself, one can see clearly how the old verities are being chipped away. Student revolutionaries played a key role in the revolution that brought Fidel Castro to power in 1958; now, at the school of philosophy near the university's gracefully tapered *Battleship Potemkin*-like main staircase, the Department of Scientific



INSIDE THE BATTERED
SHELL OF THE
ECONOMICS BUILDING,
CUBAN STUDENTS
WERE BUSY STUDYING
A BOLD VODKA'S
MARKETING STRATEGY

ic Communism (1980s nickname: "Department of Science Fiction") has withered away. This year, there were no new graduates in Marxism. Meanwhile, the economics school, based in a cruddy gray skyscraper near the Havana Libre hotel, boasts more than 350 students. On a recent visit, the only fresh decoration inside the building was a crudely lettered sign hung on the eleventh floor—the local block committee's emergency instructions in the event of "imperialist invasion." The elevators rarely worked, forcing students and faculty to trek up and down many flights of stairs. Doors and windows were cracked and broken; long lines formed behind a bank of new, malfunctioning pay phones. Yet inside the battered shell, faculty and students were busily imitating a Western business school—in one class, they were writing up studies of Absolut Vodka's marketing strategy. (Can an Absolut Fidel campaign be far behind?)

At first, the Carleton courses didn't go too smoothly. In one early lecture, Nicholas Rowe perfunctorily sketched out an ISLM model, depicting the relationships among investment, savings, liquidity, and money. This was, after all, a master's class for students with undergraduate economics degrees, and Rowe assumed his pupils had some knowledge of classical economics. They stared at him blankly. "We didn't know that a change in interest rates affected savings," says Jorge Suárez. "We'd never thought about it."

The Carleton program's arduous classes (eight of the twenty-three students dropped or flunked out) were taught in a mixture of English and Spanish. Around the university the students became known as *los oprimidos*, "the oppressed ones," because they rarely ate or slept. The economics school building was kept open at night so students could work and sleep on couches. Some students spent hours commuting to class: Economist Frances Woolley recalls that one pupil rode her bicycle through the Havana heat ten miles each way. "She was so incredibly thin, living on bread and water," Woolley remembers. "What struck me is how hard life is for the Cubans, and how hard they worked under adverse conditions."

It wasn't long before the Carleton program began to bleed into other economics courses. Several senior Cuban professors took part in the seminars, nominally as colleagues of the Carleton staff, but it was all new to them, too. ("They either swallowed their pride and studied with us, or busied themselves with other work to hide the fact that they couldn't follow the material," Jorge Suárez says.) Other professors approached Carleton professors for their reading lists. Much in demand was *Macroeconomics in the Global Economy*, coauthored by Chilean economist Felipe Larrain and Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs. (Sachs is the young policy wonk whose economic shock therapy revolutionized—or ruined, depending on your perspective—the lives of millions of Eastern Europeans.)

The arrival of the Carleton professors dovetailed with an overhaul of economics instruction that had begun in the late 1980s with a series of limited international exchanges. In 1993 the faculty scrapped its Soviet-oriented department of planning and national economy and created separate marketing and business science departments. "When we entered the faculty," says one student in business science, "they told us: 'We aren't going to teach you economics. We're going to create entrepreneurs.'"

OF COURSE, there's a hitch: In Cuba, it's *illegal* to be an entrepreneur. Cubans can be managers in the mixed firms run by the government with foreign companies, or they can become small-time operators—of restaurants or hair salons, for example—as long as they hire only their relatives. But for now, the state has put the kibosh on any large-scale private enterprises owned by Cubans. The result: Havana's new whiz kids find themselves all dressed up with nowhere to go. While some Carleton graduates now hold respected teaching and research positions at Cuban universities and institutes, others speak of a subtle marginalization, "a mixture of ideological suspicion and flat-out resentment" that keeps them from gaining real influence at their institutions.

Academics at the University of Havana must contend with a bizarre situation in which orthodox communists continue to hold the party's ideological posts—key to determining the nature of research and pedagogy—even as necessity forces Cuba to surrender its socialist ideals. "This country is a Macondo," sighs one history professor, referring to the surreal world of Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. The economics school is no exception. While its business science and marketing departments now use Western texts, the focus in the school's three other departments continues to be Marxist economics and development theory. "Our job is to form professionals with a Marxist-Leninist outlook, prepared for the challenges of working in a world market," explains assistant dean Eduardo Arias. "Whether we succeed, only history will tell."

But if economics is attracting "the cream of the students," in the words of statistics professor Jesús Cabañas, it's the allure of capitalism that's drawing them through the door. One sees the sharply turned out students, the children of communist functionaries, gathered in groups outside the faculty on Calle L. They talk about entrepreneurship and working in tourism, unheard-of goals for young people in Cuba only a decade ago. Yet the same students speak glowingly about the "conquests of the socialist revolution"—universal health care and education, for example. Whatever their true feelings about Castro and communism, at the University of Havana even the boldest market enthusiasts employ the language of socialist patriotism. "Our country gave us everything as kids, and now we're apprentices in a very exciting period," says Jorge Martínez, an earnest, bespectacled nineteen-year-old honors student who says his dream is "to buy and sell on the international market for a powerful enterprise." He adds: "We're a lucky generation. I feel sorry for the ones who had to study Ukraine's milk-distribution system."

Like Martínez, business school professor Miguel Pérez is pushing capitalist methods while singing the praises of socialism. "We are a motor for vital changes in the Cuban mentality, but we're way ahead of the rest of society," says Pérez. "We have to be careful, to help society's advance." For the moment, economic reform is stalled in Cuba, the victim of the recent cooling of U.S.-Cuban relations. The hard line—ever visible in the person of Fidel Castro—has gained the upper hand since President Clinton tightened sanctions on Cuba in response to the downing of two planes piloted by anti-Castro exiles in February. Before the confrontation, Clinton administration officials had followed a policy of encouraging academic exchanges with Cuba, but had blun-

dered by openly suggesting that such contacts would lead to Castro's downfall. Cuban academics active in the exchanges thus became vulnerable to charges that they were trying to destabilize Castro's government.

In March, the government imposed new management on the Center for the Study of the Americas, a think tank that, despite its name, has become the leading center for research on the Cuban economy. Academics have been instructed to limit their contacts with foreigners and warned that studies of the Cuban economy can only be published by party-authorized institutions.

Of course, Cuban academics have learned to ride out periodic crackdowns, and most of those I met—including two scholars at the Center for the Study of the Americas—were ready to lay low until the Castro brothers' wrath blew over; as long as they don't speak out, they're unlikely to be punished. "Sometimes I just wish the lot of them would quit their jobs in protest," one Carleton professor says in disgust. But for those who intend to remain in Cuba, patience and caution are the bywords. When I show up unannounced at Professor Pérez's office one afternoon, he immediately ushers me into the office of Rosa Bell, who serves as Communist Party secretary at the economics school. The implication is clear: the professor, who is teaching Cubans to be entrepreneurs, doesn't want to raise the slightest suspicion that he's making unauthorized contacts with foreigners. Bell, who is sitting under a huge oil painting of Che Guevara, happily quotes Lenin's 1919 *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* to show there is nothing wrong with using market mechanisms to build a socialist society. As for the divergence of views on this issue, Bell tells me that "the party's role is to channel activities at the university into the revolution. People can

have different opinions, but we agree on this: The establishment of capitalism is not the way out."

That, of course, remains to be seen.

Scholars of Cuban affairs are divided over whether Cuba can peacefully transit out of socialism. Some, like economist Carmelo Mesa-Lago of the University of Pittsburgh, believe economic success is impossible as long as Castro is in power. "The problem in Cuba is that you always have this zigzag between reform and crackdown: It's a result of Fidel's distaste for market reforms," says Mesa-Lago. "Whenever he has been forced to, he did them, but reluctantly. When he felt they were getting out of control, he shifted to the other side. He is very jealous of any challenge to his authority."

Zhiqi Chen, a Chinese-born Carleton professor who has taught economic math in the Havana seminars, believes Cuba will shift inevitably toward a free-market economy and that, unlike in China, the transition will be accompanied by greater democracy. "Once you unleash market forces, it's hard to push them back," Chen says. "Once people make their own choice about their jobs, the government loses the tools it has to control them." And Chen predicts that once it becomes clear that a more thoroughgoing liber-

alization is needed, the Carleton graduates—and their students—will be ready to spring into the breach. Out of a population of 11 million "there are 500,000 university graduates in Cuba," says Juan Mari Lois of the Félix Varela Institute, a pro-government foundation. "This is a country programmed to think."

Arthur Allen covered Germany for the Associated Press from 1993 to 1995. His article "Open Secret" appeared in the March/April 1996 issue of *Lingua Franca*.



THERE'S JUST ONE
HITCH WITH THE
CARLETON
REVOLUTION: IN
CUBA, IT'S ILLEGAL
TO BE AN
ENTREPRENEUR.

Wonder, Wit,

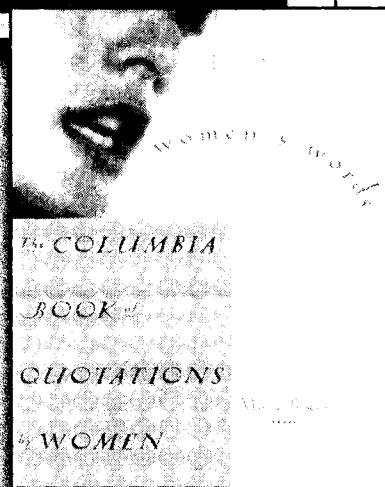
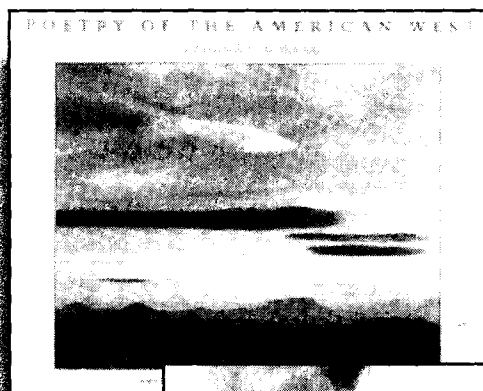
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MYSTERY SCIE

This past May, *Lingua Franca* published an author's confession. In "A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies," professor Alan Sokal of NYU revealed that he had written a deliberately absurd article entitled "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," submitted it to the journal *Social Text*, and witnessed the article's subsequent acceptance and publication. In Sokal's view, the publication of his piece indicated a "decline in the standards of rigor in certain precincts of the academic humanities."

Almost immediately, Sokal's stunt set off an avalanche of discussion about academic jargon, postmodern theory, and the propriety of hoaxes. The Internet was inflamed; articles linking quantum physics and Jacques Lacan appeared (for the first time?) in *The New York Times* and *Newsweek*. In this issue, *Lingua Franca* presents a series of considered responses to the whole affair: The editors of *Social Text* respond to Sokal in a full-length essay, which is followed by a rejoinder from Sokal and letters from readers.

WHAT WERE SOME OF THE INITIAL responses of the journal's editors when we first learned about Alan Sokal's prank on *Social Text*? One suspected that Sokal's parody was nothing of the sort, and that his admission represented a change of heart, or a folding of his intellectual resolve. Another editor was unconvinced that Sokal knew very much about what he was attempting to expose. A third was pleasantly astonished to learn that our journal is taken seriously enough to be considered a target of a hoax, especially a hoax by a physicist. Others were concerned that the hoax might spark off a new round of caricature and thereby perpetuate the climate in which science studies and cultural studies have

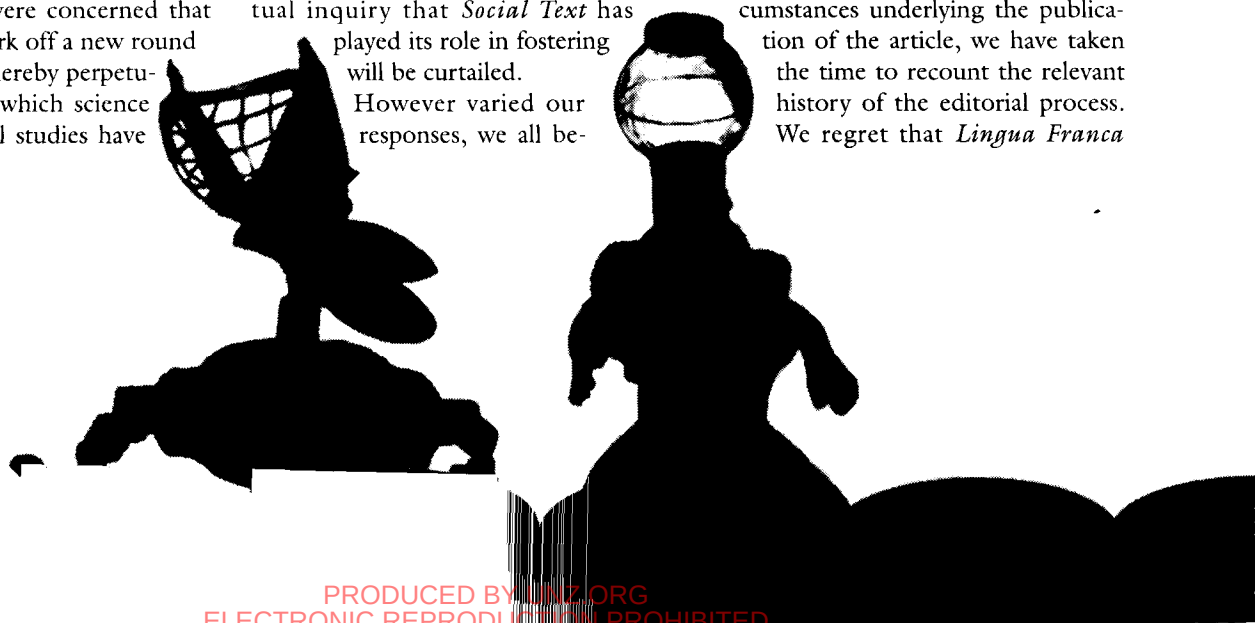
been subject recently to so much derision from conservatives in science.

All of us were distressed at the deceptive means by which Sokal chose to make his point. This breach of ethics is a serious matter in any scholarly community, and has damaging consequences when it occurs in science publishing. What is the likely result of Sokal's behavior for nonscientific journals? Less well known authors who submit unsolicited articles to journals like ours may now come under needless suspicion, and the openness of intellectual inquiry that *Social Text* has played its role in fostering will be curtailed.

However varied our responses, we all be-

lieve that Sokal took too much for granted in his account of his prank. Indeed, his claim—that our publication of his article proves that something is rotten in the state of cultural studies—is as wobbly as the article itself.

OBVIOUSLY, we now regret having published Sokal's article, and apologize to our readers and to those in the science studies or cultural studies communities who might feel their work has been disparaged as a result of this affair. To give readers a clear sense of the circumstances underlying the publication of the article, we have taken the time to recount the relevant history of the editorial process. We regret that *Lingua Franca*



NCE THEATER

did not provide us with such an opportunity when it decided to publish his statement.

From the first, we considered Sokal's unsolicited article to be a little hokey. It is not every day we receive a dense philosophical tract from a professional physicist. Not knowing the author or his work, we engaged in some speculation about his intentions, and concluded that the article was the earnest attempt of a professional scientist to seek some kind of affirmation from postmodern philosophy for developments in his field. Sokal's adventures in PostmodernLand were not really our cup of tea. Like other journals of our vintage that try to keep abreast of cultural studies, it has been many years since *Social Text* published direct contributions to the debate about postmodern theory, and his article would have been regarded as somewhat outdated if it had come from a humanist or a social scientist. As the work of a natural scientist it was unusual, and, we thought, plausibly symptomatic of how someone like Sokal might approach the field of postmodern epistemology, i.e., awkwardly but assertively trying to capture the "feel" of the professional language of this field, while relying upon an armada of footnotes to ease his sense of vulnerability. In other words, we read it more as an act of good faith

of the sort that might be worth encouraging than as a set of arguments with which we agreed. On those grounds, the editors considered it of interest to readers as a "document" of that time-honored tradition in which modern physicists have discovered harmonic resonances with their own reasoning in the field of philosophy and metaphysics. Consequently, the article met one of the several criteria for publication which *Social Text* recognizes.

As a non-refereed journal of political opinion and cultural analysis produced by an editorial collective (and entirely self-published until its adoption four years ago by Duke University Press), *Social Text* has always seen its lineage in the "little magazine" tradition of the independent Left as much as in the academic domain, and so we often balance diverse editorial criteria when discussing the worth of submissions, whether they be works of fiction, interviews with sex workers, or essays about anticolonialism. In other words, this is an editorial milieu with criteria and aims quite remote from those of a professional scientific journal. Whether Sokal's article would have been declared substandard by a physicist peer reviewer is debatable (it is not, after all, a scholarly contribution to the discipline of physics) but not finally relevant to us—at least not according to the criteria we employed.

Having established an interest in Sokal's article, we did ask him informally to revise the piece. We requested him (a) to excise a good deal of the philosophical speculation and (b) to excise most of his footnotes. Sokal seemed resistant to any revisions, and indeed insisted on retaining almost all of his footnotes and bibliographic apparatus on the grounds that his peers, in science, expected extensive documentation of this sort. Judging from his response, it was clear that his article would appear as is, or not at all. At this point, Sokal was designated as a "difficult, uncooperative author," a category well known to journal editors. We judged his article too much trouble to publish, not yet on the reject pile, perhaps of sufficient interest to readers if published in the company of related articles.

Sometime after this impasse was reached, the editors did indeed decide to assemble a special issue on the topic of science studies. We wanted to gauge how science critics were responding to the attacks by Paul Gross and Norman Levitt and by other conservatives in science. Contributions were solicited from across the field of knowledge—from humanists, social scientists, and natural scientists. (The final lineup included many of the more significant names in the field—Sandra Harding, Steve Fuller, Emily Martin, Hilary

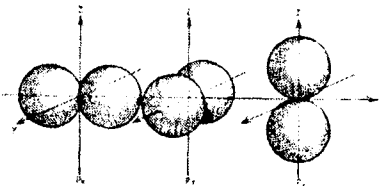
Rose, Langdon Winner, Dorothy Nelkin, Richard Levins, George Levine, Sharon Traweek, Sarah Franklin, Ruth Hubbard, Joel Kovel, Stanley Aronowitz, and Les Levidow.) Most responded directly to the evolving controversy that some were calling the "Science Wars," while others wrote their own accounts of work in their respective fields. Here, we thought, was an appropriate and heterogeneous context in which Sokal's article might appear, providing a feasible solution to the editorial problem posed by his piece. He expressed some concern when asked if we could publish his work in this special issue (we assumed he wished to distance himself from the polemical company assembled for the issue), but reiterated his eagerness to see it in print. Our final decision to include him presumed that readers would see his article in the particular context of the Science Wars issue, as a contribution from someone unknown to the field whose views, however offbeat, might still be thought relevant to the debate. Since his article was not written for that special issue, and bears little resemblance, in tone or substance, to the commissioned articles, it was not slated to be included in the expanded book version of the issue (with additional articles by Katherine Hayles, Michael Lynch, Roger Hart, and Richard Lewontin) which will be published by Duke University Press in September.

In sum, Sokal's assumption that his parody caught the woozy editors of *Social Text* sleeping on the job is ill conceived. Its status as parody does not alter substantially our interest in the piece itself as a symptomatic document. Indeed, Sokal's conduct has quickly become an object of study for those who analyze the behavior of scientists. Our own role has also come under scrutiny, since, at the very least, the affair says something about our conception of how physicists read philosophy. As for the decision to publish his article, readers can judge for themselves whether we were right or wrong. But to construe this decision as proof of the bankruptcy of cultural studies is absurd.

WHAT Alan Sokal's confession most altered was our perception of his own

good faith as a self-declared Leftist. However we feel about his deception, we do hope that the ensuing discussion has been, and will continue to be, productive, and that interlocutors will resist the opportunity to exploit existing divisions and splits among committed people and seek instead to bridge and heal those differences. There is nothing we regret more than watching the Left eat the Left, surely one of the sorriest spectacles of the twentieth century.

Having talked to the (real) Sokal subsequently, we believe that most of the issues he intended to air are, at this point, rather well known to readers of



SOKAL'S CLAIM—THAT OUR PUBLICATION OF HIS ARTICLE PROVES THAT SOMETHING IS ROTTEN IN THE STATE OF CULTURAL STUDIES— IS AS WOBBLY AS THE ARTICLE ITSELF.

Social Text and *Lingua Franca*. Indeed, they have been going the rounds in the academy since the first postmodern, social constructionist, or anti-foundational critiques of positivism appeared over thirty-five years ago. That many natural scientists have only recently felt the need to respond to these critiques says something about the restricted trade routes through which knowledge is still circulated in the academy, policed, as it is, at every departmental checkpoint by disciplinary passport controls. Nor are these critiques unfamiliar to folks who have long been involved in debates about the direction of the Left, where positivism has had a long and healthy life. At this point in time, we have a vestigial stake in these critiques and debates, but much less of an interest than Sokal supposes. Like Gross and Levitt, he appears to

have absorbed these critiques only at the level of caricatures and has been reissuing these caricatures in the form of otherworldly fanatics who deny the existence of facts, objective realities, and gravitational forces. We are sure Sokal knows that no such persons exist, and we have wondered why on earth he would promote this fiction. He must be aware that early proponents of quantum reality encountered similar parodies of themselves in the opposition to their ideas. Physics is not the only field where this occurred. Comparable caricatures have figured in many different scholarly controversies, from early twentieth century debates about legal realism to more recent ones about genetic reductionism. It is time to put them to rest.

On the other hand, we recognize that professional scientists like Sokal do feel that their beliefs and their intellectual integrity are threatened by the diverse work done in the field of science studies. Doubtless, there have been distorted and reductive descriptions of scientists in many aspects of that work. Over the years, many scholars in the field have responded sympathetically to this grievance, and a good deal of common ground has been established. We share Sokal's own concerns about obscurantism, for example. It is highly ironic that *Social Text* should now be associated with a kind of sectarian postmodernism that we have been at pains to discourage for many years. We would be all too happy if this episode cleared the air. Sokal has said that he agrees with many of the arguments put forth by other authors in the Science Wars issue of *Social Text*. Unfortunately, he declined to enter into a publishable dialogue with us for this issue of *Lingua Franca*. We are heartened, however, by the prospect of any levelheaded discussion about the politics of science that does not rest exclusively on claims of expertise and that is shaped by the public interest.

Our main concern is that readers new to the debates engendered by science studies are not persuaded by the Sokal stunt that this is simply an academic turf war between scientists and humanists/social scientists, with each side trying to outsmart the other. Sadly, this outcome would simply reinforce the premise that only professional scientists have the credentialed right to speak

ALAN SOKAL REPLIES...

“ I confess to amusement that one *Social Text* editor still doesn't believe my piece was a parody. Oh, well.

As for *Social Text*'s editorial process, readers can judge for themselves the plausibility of the editors' post facto explanations, which if true may be more damning than the incident itself. Some of their chronology is at variance with my own documentary record, but let me not beat a dead horse.

More interesting than the scandal provoked by the article's acceptance is, I think, the scandal that ought to be provoked by its content. My essay, aside from being (if I may quote Katha Pollitt's flattery) "a hilarious compilation of porno gibberish," is also an annotated bibliography of the charlatanism and nonsense purveyed by dozens of prominent French and American intellectuals. This goes well beyond the narrow category of "postmodernism" and includes some of the most fashionable thinkers in "science studies," literary criticism, and cultural studies.

In short, there is a lot of sloppy thinking going around about "social construction," often abetted by a vocabulary that intentionally elides the distinction between facts and our knowledge of them. I'm no expert in epistemology, but some of this work is so illogical that it doesn't take an expert to deconstruct it. I've analyzed one representative example in an Afterword submitted for publication in *Social Text*; I hope the editors will print it, perhaps along with replies. I'd suggest they also invite contributions from philosophers far sharper than myself, such as Susan Haack and Janet Radcliffe Richards.

Robbins and Ross say that I "declined to enter into a publishable dialogue" with them. Quite the contrary: we're having that dialogue right now. What I declined was an oral dialogue, which in my opinion usually yields a low ratio of content to words.

Robbins and Ross guess wrong when they say I feel "threatened" by science-studies scholars. My goal isn't to defend science from the barbarian hordes of lit crit (we'll survive

just fine, thank you), but to defend the Left from a trendy segment of itself. Like innumerable others from diverse backgrounds and disciplines, I call for the Left to reclaim its Enlightenment roots. We're worried above all for the social sciences and the humanities, not the natural sciences.

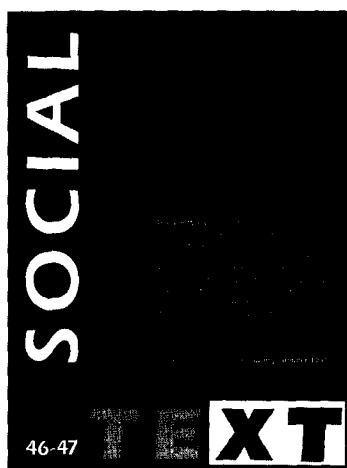
In their last two paragraphs, Robbins and Ross bring up a plethora of real issues, but it would take quite a bit of space to disentangle the substance from the rhetoric. They conflate science as an intellectual system with the social and economic role of science and technology. They conflate epistemic and ethical issues.

These confusions lead Robbins and Ross into a serious error:

setting up an opposition between science and progressive politics. They describe science as a "civil religion" that supports existing social and political structures. It is of course true that scientific research is skewed by the influence of those with power and money. But a scientific worldview, based on a commitment to logic and standards of evidence and to the incessant confrontation of theories with reality, is an essential component of any progressive politics.

Despite these differences, there is a potentially vast common ground between Robbins, Ross, and myself. When scientific research is increasingly funded by private corporations that have a financial interest in particular outcomes of that research—is the drug effective

or not?—scientific objectivity is undermined. (But to make this argument, one must first have a conception of objectivity: not as a state that human beings can ever attain, but as an ideal standard of comparison.) When universities are more interested in patent royalties than in the open sharing of scientific information, the public suffers. There are hundreds of important political and economic issues surrounding science and technology. Sociology of science, at its best, has done much to clarify these issues. But sloppy sociology, like sloppy science, is useless or even counterproductive.



their minds on scientific matters that affect all of us. What's important to us is not so much the gulf of comprehension between "the two cultures," but rather the gulf of power between experts and lay voices, and the currently shifting relationship between science and the corporate-military state. Nor are these concerns extrinsic to the practice of science itself. Prior to deciding whether science intrinsically tells the truth, we must ask, again and again, whether it is possible, or prudent, to isolate facts from values. This is a cru-

cial question to ask, because it bears upon the kind of progressive society we want to promote.

Why does science matter so much to us? Because its power, as a civil religion, as a social and political authority, affects our daily lives and the parlous condition of the natural world more than does any other domain of knowledge. Does it follow that nonscientists should have some say in the decision-making processes that define and shape the work of the professional scientific community? Some scientists (including

Sokal, presumably) would say yes, and in some countries non-expert citizens do indeed participate in these processes. All hell breaks loose, however, when the following question is asked: Should nonexperts have anything to say about scientific methodology and epistemology? After centuries of scientific racism, scientific sexism, and scientific domination of nature, one might have thought this was a pertinent question to ask.

Bruce Robbins and Andrew Ross, Co-Editors, for *Social Text*

THE SOKAL HOAX: A FORUM

ALAN Sokal's prank was a brilliant strategy for making an extremely important point, but what exactly is this point, and for whom is it important?

First, the point. Is it that the academy houses scholars who have the audacity to question the meaning of objectivity, or to challenge the immunity of science from social forces? Or that some literary scholars have begun to write about scientific texts without first seeking the approval of scientists? Not only does Sokal seriously weaken his case with such suggestions, but he helps fuel the media's enthusiasm for the outlandish idea that a Left antisience conspiracy is perpetrating the claim that the world is not real. I wish he had let his ruse speak for itself, for its point is quite simple: The editors of *Social Text* have been shown to be unable to distinguish a hilarious jargon-ridden spoof from real argument. Or perhaps the editors were so eager to count a physicist as one of their own that they chose to publish an article they themselves regarded as "hokey."

Now, to whom should this matter? For many scientists, this episode will only bolster their fear that postmodernism (and science studies more generally) threatens the integrity and well-being of their own disciplines. But it is not science that is threatened by the hapless publication of gibberish; it is science studies itself. And the embarrassing defense offered by Ross and Robbins (not to mention the many counterattacks) just makes the problem worse. Scholars in science studies who have turned to postmodernism have done so out of a real need: Truth and objectivity turn out to be vastly more problematic concepts than we used to think, and neither can be measured simply by the weight of scientific authority, nor even by demonstrations of efficacy. Yet surely the ability to distinguish argument from parody is a prerequisite to any attempt at understanding the complexities of truth claims, in science or elsewhere. How can we claim credibility for responsible scholarship—for the carefully reasoned and empirically founded research that makes up the bulk of science studies—if we do not recognize a problem here?

It saddens me that my scientific colleagues so readily confuse the analysis of social influence on science with radical subjectivism, mistaking challenges to the autonomy of science with the "dogma" that there exists no external world. And it alarms me to see the politicization of legitimate intellectual argument as a "Left anti-science" movement vs. a defense of traditional values mounted by the "Right." But neither condones the failure of my colleagues in science studies to acknowledge so blatant a compromise to the integrity of their own discipline.

Evelyn Fox Keller, professor of history and philosophy of science, MIT

AS ONE of the contributors to the *Social Text* volume, I must confess that I did not initially detect Sokal's ruse. Instead, I was struck by how misplaced was

his vast erudition in cultural studies. I thought: If only this physicist knew something about the history of his own field, he would not have had to fall back on the jargon-ridden prose of postmodernism. Rather, he would have known that many of the points he raised about the crisis of representation, the illusory character of scientific truth, and—yes—an obdurate external reality, had been made by philosophically sophisticated *scientists* just prior to the revolutions in relativistic and quantum physics. Duhem, Poincaré, Hertz, Mach, and Ostwald all contributed to these discussions, even while they were continuing to do respectable science. As Alan Janik and Stephen Toulmin observed in *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (1973), the relativism and mysticism evident in Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* derived in large part from meditating on the metaphysical crisis into which the Newtonian worldview had fallen in the 1890–1910 period. And lest one think that the scientists saw this as a purely academic matter, a liberatory politics was frequently intimated in the popular works of Mach and Ostwald.

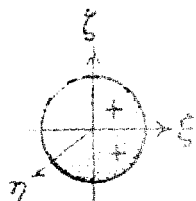
I therefore diagnosed Sokal as the victim of an ahistorical physics education who became overimpressed with the radicalness of cultural studies because he was unaware of similar sentiments in his own discipline. The tone of Sokal's "revelations" suggest that this diagnosis may not be so far off the mark after all.

Steven Fuller, professor of sociology and social policy, University of Durham (UK)

THE CENTRAL issue raised by Alan Sokal's hoax is not the legitimacy of a philosophical, sociological, or political study of science; it is rather the competence with which such studies are conducted nowadays by scholars loosely united under the banner of "cultural studies."

For many years now, academics from a variety of disciplines have been grumbling, mostly in private, about the appallingly low standards of argument and evidence that appear to characterize work in this area, and especially in that branch of it that has come to be known as "science studies." As philosophers, for example, we have often been struck by the sloppy and naive quality of what passes for philosophical argument in cultural studies, and at the central role that such argument has been made to play. Practitioners of cultural studies have not been impressed with the disapproval of their colleagues. They have insisted that their critics are moved merely by a self-interested sense of academic propriety and protection of turf. On occasion, they have gone so far as to question the very idea of expertise in a given subject, arguing that appeals to it are merely veiled attempts to silence unpopular views.

Alan Sokal's brilliant idea was to try to settle this dispute with a simple stratagem: Write a piece full of such transparent nonsense that no one—not even the most committed proponent of cultural studies—could hope to defend it. "Transgressing the Boundaries" suc-



"IF ONLY THIS PHYSICIST KNEW SO A LITTLE ABOUT THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN FIELD, HE WOULD HAVE HAD TO FALL BACK ON THE A CONSIDERABLE PROSE OF POSTMODERNISM"

ceeds brilliantly. Take, for example, the following delicious passage:

Just as liberal feminists are frequently content with a minimal agenda of legal and social equality for women and "pro-choice," so liberal (and even some socialist) mathematicians are often content to work within the hegemonic Zermelo-Fraenkel framework (which, reflecting its nineteenth-century liberal origins, already incorporates the axiom of equality) supplemented only by the axiom of choice. But this framework is grossly insufficient for a liberatory mathematics, as was proven long ago by Cohen 1966.

To anyone with even a passing acquaintance with, for example, the axiom of choice, this is pure foolishness. What this axiom says is that, given any set of mutually exclusive sets, there exists a set containing exactly one member from each of those mutually exclusive sets. This proposition clearly has nothing to do with the issue of choice in the abortion debate. Similarly, Paul

Cohen's article is concerned with the purely mathematical claim that the continuum hypothesis—a hypothesis about the number of cardinal numbers between two particular transfinite cardinals—is logically independent of the axioms of Zermelo-Fraenkel set theory. It has nothing to do with a "liberatory mathematics," whatever that means.

Catching such "errors" requires no subtle understanding of higher mathematics, physics, or philosophy; they are elementary blunders and Sokal's article positively overflows with them. Only the complete scientific, mathematical, and philosophical incompetence of the editors of *Social Text* can explain how they were able to accept for publication such a tissue of transparent nonsense.

Stanley Fish has argued in *The New York Times* that the fact that Sokal's experiment depended upon deception undercuts its probative value. The processes of inquiry and publication depend, says Fish, on our being able to trust the sincerity of the participants, a condition that was manifestly not met in the present case.

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A FORUM

This means that it is Alan Sokal, not his targets, who threatens to undermine the intellectual standards he vows to protect.... No scientist...begins his task by inventing anew the facts he will assume.... They are all given by the tradition of inquiry he has joined, and for the most part he must take them on faith. And he must take on faith, too, the reports of his colleagues.... [Sokal] carefully packaged his deception so as not be detected except by someone who began with a deep and corrosive attitude of suspicion....

Now, there is a limited sense in which the practice of journal review does depend on trust; but it is irrelevant to the case at hand. In the context of a paper reporting on the findings of an experimental study, the factual report detailing the methods used and the results obtained would have to be taken on trust by a putative referee, since those reports are, in general, impossible to verify.

But this is not relevant to the sort of article that Sokal submitted. His essay did not claim to have run some experiments and to report on their results. Rather, it offered a philosophical interpretation of certain theoretical claims within physics, interpretations that are so absurd that anyone with the least familiarity with their content would see right through them. Of course, Sokal sought to conceal his own disbelief in the nonsense he had so ingeniously cooked up; the experiment would not have worked otherwise. But that fact cannot be translated into an excuse for the editors of *Social Text*. In the context of a purely philosophical/theoretical paper, it is not the business of an editorial board to judge the sincerity of its authors, but only the cogency of their arguments. In the case of Sokal's paper, that cogency was fully open to view.

Fish also takes Sokal to task for misunderstanding the central claim of postmodernism. According to Fish, no one has ever asserted the radical thesis that reality is socially constructed, but only the far more innocuous thesis that scientific theories of reality are socially constructed. Here Fish is just being disingenuous, for he is presumably aware of the many texts in which it is precisely the radical thesis that is advocated.

In dismissing the idea that anyone in cultural studies would assert anything as foolish as the radical thesis, Fish writes, "Sokal's question should alert us to the improbability of the scenario he conjures up: Scholars with impeccable credentials making statements no sane person could credit. The truth is that none of his targets would ever make such statements."

The fact of the matter, however, is that in accepting Sokal's parody, these scholars have made it clear that, impeccable credentials or no, they are unable to tell the

difference between a statement that no sane person could credit and its opposite.

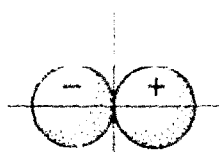
Paul Boghossian, professor of philosophy, NYU
Thomas Nagel, professor of philosophy and law, NYU

HOW DID Alan Sokal fool the *Social Text* editorial collective? Simple: The members of that collective knew very little about physics (nothing wrong with that) and they didn't bother to ask an expert. They didn't do so, Ross and Robbins have told us, because "professional" standards "are not finally relevant to us, at least not according to the criteria we employed." This is a rather opaque justification, and no wonder. Basically, it means that *Social Text* doesn't care whether Sokal's work—or anybody else's—is solid or not. Nice to know, in general. But still, why did *Social Text* publish this particular article?

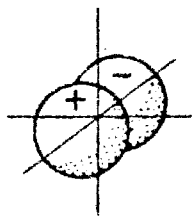
Because, the editors say, "[we] concluded that this article was the earnest attempt by a professional scientist to seek some kind of affirmation from postmodern philosophy for developments in his field." In plainer words: We publish Sokal not because he is interesting, but because he says *we* are. This a wonderful explanation, with a great hidden premise—that people in the humanities have nothing to learn from a scientist. He may be exhibited as a curious convert to theory, but we don't have to take him seriously. The *Social Text* board read and reread the article, and didn't understand a thing—yet they didn't care, because at bottom they believe that physics has nothing to teach them. In the *Social Text* cosmology, science is a socially aggressive but intellectually weak enterprise that seeks "affirmation" from postmodern philosophy. This is why they didn't check Sokal's claims out: Whether the physics made sense or not made no difference, because its value had to be in the philosophy anyway. So why bother?

This disciplinary narcissism, so typical of recent literary cultural studies, is a mystery to me. After all, the natural sciences have been quite successful with their object of study, and we probably have *a lot* to learn from their methods. But no: For Stanley Aronowitz (quoted in *The New York Times*), Sokal is "ill-read and half-educated." Well, then, how does it feel being duped by the half-educated?

Towards the end of his reply, Ross states that "we must ask, again and again, wherever it is possible, or prudent, to isolate facts from values." I would respond that yes, it is possible (though difficult), and certainly very prudent, because it's the only way to *learn* anything. If facts cannot be isolated from values, then values can never be tested, never contradicted, never



"ALAS, MUCH OF THE LEFT HAS LOST ITS
PASSION FOR KNOWLEDGE, AND SOCIAL TEXT
HAS PROVED IT."



"THAT THERE IS A REAL WORLD IS THE BEST
AVAILABLE HYPOTHESIS, BUT IT'S A HYPOTHESIS
ALL THE SAME."

changed. Research, experiment, evidence, and discussion all become useless. Only values, everywhere. A nightmare: Cardinal Bellarmine and Stanley Aronowitz, forever together.

Why Ross likes this scenario, and what makes it "progressive," is another mystery. "Science trades in knowledge," wrote Brecht at the end of *Galileo*, "which is the product of doubt. And this new art of doubt has enchanted the public.... They snatched the telescopes out of our hands and had them trained on their tormentors: prince, official, public moralist." Knowledge, doubt, enchantment, polemical unmasking: Here is the science we need; not prudence. But alas, much of the Left has lost its passion for knowledge, and *Social Text* has proved it.

So far, *Social Text* has not offered arguments, but rather invoked all sorts of Victorian pieties ("deception," "breach of ethics," "irresponsible," "good faith," "confession") in the hope of exorcising the hoax. Come on. You are a polemical journal, with an issue entitled "Science Wars." Drop the pose, accept the facts, and another, more interesting discussion may begin.

**Franco Moretti, professor of comparative literature,
Columbia University**

I FIND Alan Sokal's "experiment" and the furor it has caused more than a little disturbing. I agree with much of what he said: There is no justification for intellectual sloth, nor is opacity a virtue. Nonetheless, I am afraid that Sokal may not realize how potentially damaging his discursive booby trap may be.

Besides a real physical world, there is a real political one, a world in which conservative pundits and lawmakers are attacking not just the cultural studies departments but the entire academy. The battleground here is not a text but the bottom line. The Right is fighting a broad-based campaign to demonize those sectors of the academic community that encourage critical thinking and offer an alternative perspective on the status quo. The culture wars have taken their casualties. Much of what we in the academy would consider mainstream scholarship is now under attack and continues to lose public support.

The onslaught against what academics do reinforces the efforts of the business-oriented Republicans and their allies to defund the public sector. So much the better if it turns out that much of the academy is not only economically irrelevant, but also wrong. The defenders of the good old flag and canon, despite their alleged reverence for the liberal arts, rarely if ever confront the damage that bottom-

line thinking and forced vocationalism are doing to their cherished institutions.

Alan Sokal is certainly no enemy of the traditional academy and is, in his way, trying to strengthen it. His demand for intellectual rigor is both refreshing and long overdue. There is no reason why conservatives should claim a monopoly on high standards and scholarly merit; Leftists can be tough graders, too. Even so, I worry that Sokal's merry prank may well backfire and provide further ammunition for the forces that have damaged the academic community far more than a few trendy theorists.

**Ellen Schrecker, professor of history,
Yeshiva University**

HOAXES don't rank high on the scale of cultural achievement, but a hoax as brilliant as the one Sokal has pulled off does provide some of the visceral satisfaction of great art or music. It has a kind of perfection; one stands in envious awe.

As to the moral Sokal wants to draw from it, the payoff is less clear. Sokal rightly reminds us that people ignorant of science have no business drawing portentous conclusions from its technical findings. He's right; it's an old story. Einstein's theory, Heisenberg's principle, Gödel's proof, and Bell's theorem have been used to suggest that everything is relative, nothing is certain, language fails us, we don't know where we are. These conclusions don't follow; they are wild overinterpretations.

Yet relativism, uncertainty, linguistic inadequacy, and cultural vertigo *are* problematic. So it won't do to couch the issue, as Sokal does, in terms of "subjectivist thinking" against the "real world." All thinking is the thinking of some subject (Sokal himself is one). That truism has to be acknowledged—so "subjectivist" shouldn't be used as an epithet—and then it has to be pointed out how the subject in question gets to distinguish what is subjectively felt from what is objectively known. But on the latter point it won't do either to lay down the law with italics, as Sokal does ("there *is* a real world; its properties are *not* merely social constructions"). That there is a real world is the best available hypothesis, but it's a hypothesis all the same; and the properties of that world aren't "merely" social constructions, but a lot of social constructing goes into agreeing what they are.

Sokal may have flushed bigger game than he intended. One of the things he has in his sights, though, I agree with completely: Those of us who care about the Left have cause to worry. But we don't have to worry about its being discredited by pretentious aca-

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demics; we have to worry about its failure to articulate its own position in a convincing way, given the recent history of the market and of public sensibility. Perhaps that is what Sokal will work on next.

**Peter Caws, professor of philosophy,
George Washington University**

SOMEWHERE in this whole affair a significant element has been lost: Sokal's article masqueraded not as straight cultural criticism, not as sociology of science, and not as science, but as an *interdisciplinary* study. In other words, we should separate what Sokal wanted to mock (cultural criticism) from what he imitated (interdisciplinary research). As someone who works on relativity, quantum mechanics, and literary culture, I spend a great deal of time wondering what such research should look like. Sokal's piece didn't even come close.

The point of interdisciplinary endeavor is that work done in one field may be used to elucidate material in another. This idea rests on two premises: first, that certain ideas and concepts can be useful *across* disciplinary boundaries; and second, that their development in different disciplines may not be perfectly symmetrical. Finding commonalities between science and the humanities, then, does not mean that they have the same thing to tell us, but that concepts from one can be used to help us see *new* things about the other. They function as *cognitive* metaphors: unexpected associations that reorganize a familiar conceptual field and allow us to behave differently within it.

Interdisciplinary work, then, is always translation—from one specialized discourse into another. But a great deal of Sokal's article is incomprehensible, and he tells us now that its science is also wrong. Several respondents ask why *Social Text* didn't check the article's correctness. I also want to know why its opacity didn't bother them. Even if the physics of the article had been right, the editors should have refused it because it made no effort to be understood. The value of interdisciplinary work is precisely that it allows us to see something new—and this rests on the premise that it allows us to see, period.

So far this debate has taken the form of mutual accusation: "Those critics hate science, but they still use their toasters." Or, "Scientists think culture and politics aren't important, but I'd like to see them work without language." The truth is, without science, we'd have no toasters. But without culture, we'd never want toast. Neither the don't-touch-it-if-you-don't-have-a-Ph.D. cop-out of territorial scientists, nor the no-one-really-understands-differential-equations-anyway cop-out of

some cultural theorists should be allowed to undermine the possibility of a real interdisciplinary effort. I resent Sokal's piece because he used his command of a powerful and fascinating discourse to fortify the boundaries between disciplines, and I resent the editors of *Social Text* because they let him. Science (even quantum mechanics) can be made perfectly comprehensible to non-scientists, but it takes careful translation and a lot of work.

**Teri Reynolds, Ph.D. candidate in English and
comparative literature, Columbia University**

I AM HAPPY to see someone demonstrate that the literary theory emperor has no clothes. It is a hard and bitter lesson which I, a relatively new literary scholar, have only recently accepted. I started on the theory bandwagon and began my dissertation excited about showing how postmodern fiction reveals the cultural constructedness of scientific "discourse." But the more I read, the more I realized that thinkers who attack scientific discourse were not thinking at all, just playing with ideas. What caused my turnaround was a suspicion shared by Alan Sokal—that theorists use concepts of limited application as universals; that those who most vehemently oppose science know very little about it; that, like editors of tabloid newspapers, many theorists are unable to distinguish ideas from nonsense.

Sokal's political point also struck a personal chord. Like him, I believe in an active political Left which directly engages the all-too-real problems created by corporate capitalism: a growing split between rich and poor, festering race relations, exploding numbers of guns on the streets. To claim, as theorists like Linda Hutcheon do, that taking an ironical stance toward all discourse (including one's own) will somehow strike a blow against empire is to ignore that empire is winning without breaking a sweat. The critical Left has abandoned meaningful criticism to go out and "play" with language—and thus has left nothing to carry on the fight.

This relativism-as-radical-chic has, alas, too far infested the humanities for anything but amputation to cure the patient. But that amputation is not coming. Instead, like gangrene, the theory rot breeds more theory rot. Grad students eager to get hired in a cramped labor "market" follow the lead of Lefty-talking people who, in Reaganite fashion, created the market in the first place. So the grads who get hired most often are those who mouth the theory platitudes, repeat the theory mantras, and turn a blind eye to real concerns about the place of academic studies in the world.

David Layton, Olympia, WA



"MANY HAVE ASKED WHY THE EDITORS OF SOCIAL TEXT DIDN'T CHECK THE ARTICLE'S CORRECTNESS. I WANT TO KNOW WHY ITS OPACITY DIDN'T BOTHER THEM."

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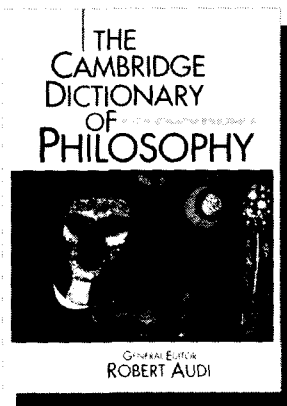
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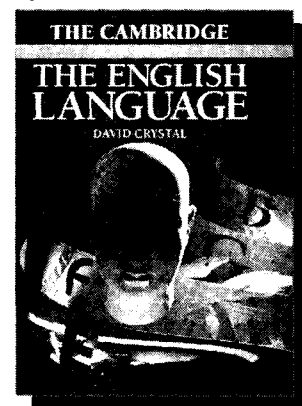
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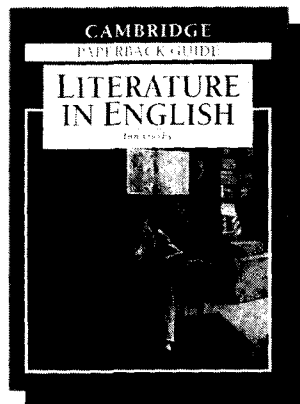
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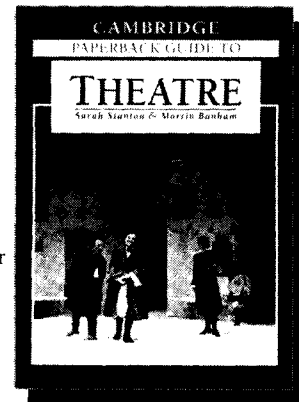


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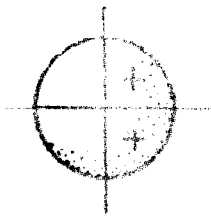
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"WHY ARE SOKAL, GROSS, AND LEVITT SO THREATENED BY JUST ABOUT THE ONLY INTELLECTUALS IN TOWN REALLY INTERESTED IN A RESPONSIBLE PUBLIC RELATION TO SCIENCE?"

IF SOMETHING useful is to come from the *Social Text* furor, scientists and humanists who study science need to talk with each other openly and frankly about what we disagree about as well as what views we share. I would thus like to urge a cease-fire in what has been called the "Science Wars." Here are some points on which I think common ground might be found.

1) Scholars in the humanities have a right, and a duty, to examine what scientists do, and vice versa. Certainly, anyone who has something new to contribute to the understanding of scientific methodology and epistemology must do so. But they should be warned that issues like quantum mechanics or molecular biology must be approached with care and subtlety.

2) The key issue is democracy and how it may work in a pluralistic, global society in which everyone's future depends on decisions about scientific and technological issues. Anyone who wants to play a real role in this context must learn to communicate clearly and to listen to what people are actually saying. If academics, with special training in reading and writing, cannot communicate with each other, they have little hope of having genuine influence outside the academy.

3) Perhaps it is time to give up the notion that knowledge is "constructed" and replace it with the more generous conception that the products of culture are the results of a negotiation with a natural world of which we are a part.

These are just a few issues whose resolution will require a dialogue between humanists and scientists. Our task, then, is not to argue further over the meaning of obscure texts; it is to invent a way of thinking about important political, philosophical, and aesthetic issues that orients us toward the problems and promises of the future.

**Lee Smolin, professor of physics,
Pennsylvania State University**

THERE ARE a lot of different ways to respond to Sokal's "hoax." Perhaps the best way would be lightly, trading joke for joke. But I guess the stakes are a little too high for me to laugh a lot; my ultimate response to this prank is sadness.

In my essay in the *Social Text* volume that includes Sokal's article, I argue that for science studies to matter at all, its practitioners need to know something substantial about the scientific issues they address. One can't, for example, take a principled position on what

to do to prevent the decay of forests without knowing what would in fact prevent that decay. And I argue too that it's necessary to engage scientists in discussion of the cultural issues that inescapably link the activities of science with the life of non-scientists. The key—and Paul Gross and Norman Levitt, authors of *Higher Superstition*, actually agree with Andrew Ross on this, if they would face what they have written—is that the public should have a responsible *and* intelligent relationship to science. Sokal's crusade for reality demonstrates not the slightest understanding of the complexity of anti-realist arguments (with their millenia-long genealogy); it shows no awareness that a constructionist argument does not and cannot mean that "reality" can be changed just like that. The whole enterprise is rather only another move in a self-defeating crusade to keep people who are affected by science but don't "do" science from having anything to say about it.

Why are Sokal, Gross, and Levitt so threatened by people who are just about the only intellectuals in town really interested in a responsible public relation to science? Sokal should be aware that the real threat to the supercollider or to science funding is not coming from Andrew Ross or from Stanley Aronowitz. The threat comes from a culture profoundly anti-intellectual, and now overwhelmingly preoccupied with taxes and money.

Sokal says he is on the same side as the editors of *Social Text*. But he and his colleagues are dazzlingly unaware that the very imperial mode of their intellectual stance—which they want to keep as a central aspect of the institution of science—is part of the reason people at large have so little real sense of what science does, so little understanding of its workings, so painfully meager a recognition that what happens in scientific enterprises has something to do with what happens outside them. What Sokal's hoax reveals is his anxiety as a scientist about this empire of knowledge, as well as a rather ignorant and chortlingly condescending relation to complicated philosophical, sociological, and theoretical positions. Its effect will be to further divide those who ought to be working together against the anti-intellectualism of culture at large. It will reduce to sneering condescension what ought to be a serious debate about how, precisely, the work of science reflects upon, influences, and is influenced by social, cultural, and political forces.

**George Levine, director, Center for the Critical
Analysis of Contemporary Culture,
Rutgers University**

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WHEN
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had
enough

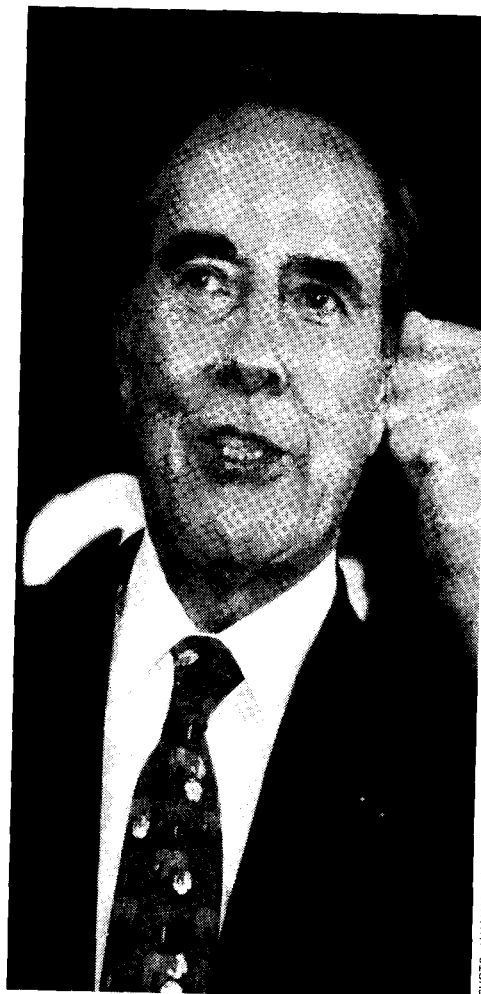


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ry of Africa over the past several decades is a testimony to the political shambles these ideas produced.

American scholarship did not, of course, result directly in any of the tragedies visited upon Africa, but it did intellectually legitimate some pretty murderous despots as they were beginning to establish themselves. And it eliminated from the educated discourse on Africa counterarguments that might have provided support for African intellectuals who saw—earlier than most—the direction in which things were going. These intellectuals often became the kleptocrats' victims.

To be sure, there were some academics who dissented from the political correctness of the times. As a graduate student in the late Fifties, I witnessed how Peter Bauer, one of the few development economists arguing at the time against government-controlled development in the Third World, was dismissed out of hand as a perverse crank. Certainly no young scholar embarking on a career could remain unaware of the prevalent professional ethos of African studies.

IGOR KOPYTOFF,
PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

POETIC INJUSTICE?

I wrote a short review of Jay Parini's *Columbia Anthology of American Poetry* in which I demonstrated that half of the poems in his twentieth century selection—over two hundred pages—were taken from Richard Ellmann's two Norton and Oxford anthologies alone, and that most of the selections of African-American poets came from the old 1938 *Book of American Negro Poetry*.

Your article on the controversy, "Whose Words These Are I Think I Know" [*LF*, May/June], reduced my argument to quibbles over the provenance of three poems. Parini was presented at length, with various testimonials, as a "respected," "experienced," "knowledgeable" editor, who had

"chuckled" over my "nutty" charges with a bemused "Mea culpa." I was essentially characterized as a jerk. Readers must have wondered why you were writing about this at all, why elephants were brought in to step on a flea.

Some extraordinary remarks by Helen Vendler, reigning poetry critic of the land, were quoted without comment. One was a haughty "Nobody is going to read all the writings of Countee Cullen," as though an interest in the Harlem Renaissance was beneath consideration. The other was her astonishing admission that, if she were editing an anthology like Parini's, she wouldn't bother, say, to look at any books by Ezra Pound—what a chore—but "might well" simply take her Pound selection from Ellmann.

It is evident from your article and mine that these distinguished professors, like wily freshmen, are not only getting by on the minimum required reading, they're bragging about it.

ELIOT WEINBERGER,
NEW YORK, NY

MEAN PRESIDENTS

There's a dubious passage in Marc Wortman's account of Tony Lyle's forced retirement from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* ["Spiked!", *LF*, May/June]. Wortman writes that "the steely Lyle outlasted three university presidents" but "met his match in Judith Rodin, the new Penn president who arrived in June 1994."

Any of the presidents under whom Lyle served earlier could have removed him. They did not because in their way they *were* matched with him, in intellect and imagination. Finally he ran into a mismatch—a president operating beneath his level.

Lyle should be thankful he got to do good work for many years. University presidents tend to regress toward the mean.

ROBERT ERWIN,
FORMER DIRECTOR, UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

KRIPKE KOPS

No doubt it was supposed to be an uplifting moment at the American Philosophy Association session, "Kripke, Marcus, and the New Theory of Reference," when Professor Quentin Smith announced that he would fore swear the use of "emotive epithets" in his debate with Scott Soames, but many of us in the audience were quite unmoved ["Whose Idea is It?", *LF*, January/February]. It has been an essential part of the continuing hypocrisy in this case to suggest that this is just another scholarly debate about the recent history of Anglo-American philosophy. In fact, it was a very serious attack, in a public forum, on the professional reputation and integrity of Saul Kripke. It was very much in Smith's interest to deflect the ethical spotlight from its proper focus. The *Lingua Franca* article reports that Smith was surprised that the APA Program Committee accepted his paper for presentation, and well he might have been. It is a scandal—which your author, Jim Holt, does not investigate—that a session of this unprecedented nature was scheduled at all.

If Smith had shown any concern for just procedure when he decided to accuse Kripke of having improperly appropriated the ideas of Ruth Marcus, the precedent would have been to ask the Executive Committee of the APA to convene a panel of relevant experts to look into his charges—who would have dismissed the charges as absurd (certainly this is the almost universal opinion of experts in the field). Then Kripke would have been spared the painful embarrassment that he has been caused by the wide dissemination of Smith's accusations in an atmosphere of gossip and innuendo.

Although the article makes an attempt at evenhandedness, Holt seems not to have spoken to anyone, with the exception of Soames, who knows Kripke reasonably well. If he had, these friends and colleagues would have provided him with a very different picture than the one that Robert Solomon and other critics of Kripke had offered. Whatever faults Kripke may have, morality and religion

occupy an absolutely central place in his personal and intellectual life, and they have a guiding importance for his actions that render Solomon's comments an utter travesty of the truth.

GEORGE M. WILSON,
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

GODFORSAKEN SCHOLARSHIP

I have never read anything by Alan Wolfe without coming away enlightened and provoked, and his "Higher Learning" [LF, March/April] is no exception. On this occasion, however, I also came away a bit aggrieved at being misrepresented.

(1) Wolfe says I argued in *That Noble Dream* that "the eternal quest of historians for untainted knowledge can never be realized." If by "knowledge" we mean something more than some relatively straightforward singular factual assertion, this is the most boringly consensual proposition imaginable. It's a long time since any reputable historian said otherwise. My argument is rather that *the very idea* of "objective" historical knowledge, as it is commonly understood, is incoherent; not just unattainable, but a vacuous ideal.

(2) Wolfe says that another author demonstrates "why, despite Novick's argument, historical facts still matter when we discuss current controversies." This makes me out to be worse than boring: it makes me deranged. I have never written a line suggesting that "facts don't matter," in either current or other controversies. (I have said, and believe, that facts are often not *decisive*. Does Wolfe disagree?)

(3) Wolfe says that my work "supports the contention...that religious ways of knowing are as deserving of respect as any other ways of knowing." In this instance I am not so much aggrieved as confused, because I can't imagine what I wrote which gives this impression. And, indeed, I don't know what the contention means. The problem is with the notoriously slippery word "respect." If Wolfe means by it "not laughing out loud in public," fine. If he means "takes

seriously as a cultural phenomenon worthy of study"—again, fine. If he means "don't disallow an argument because its original inspiration was religious," in the same way the inspiration for an argument can be an unresolved Oedipal conflict, or a desire to do something splashy to get tenure—still fine. But he seems to mean more than this: "respect" understood as conferring some kind of academic (or cognitive) legitimacy.

In *That Noble Dream* I cited the case of a highly regarded academic historian of the French Revolution who acknowledged in a religious periodical that his (to-all-appearances secular) interpretation of the Revolution was informed by his faith that "undertakings originating in

pride or cupidity ultimately destroy themselves. Otherwise, Hell triumphs and the Gospel makes no sense." What would it mean for a nonbeliever like myself to "respect" this "way of knowing"? To put it rather crudely, does he think that we should respect ways of knowing based on premises we think cuckoo?

PETER NOVICK,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Alan Wolfe responds: The sentence to which professor Novick calls attention in point 2 of his letter does indeed give an unfair characterization of his work. It was a sloppily written sentence, and I apologize for it.

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UC, St Cruz	Chancellor

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baccalaureate colleges II

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Auburn U	Assoc VP Acad Affairs and Dean Grad Sch
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Marquette U	Vice President for Acad Affairs
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Missouri, Clmb	Vice Provost for Acad Affairs
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Northeastern U	Vice Provost Research & Grad Ed
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Old Dominion U	Assoc VP Research/Econ Devel, Grad Stud
S Carolina, Clm	Vice President Acad Affairs/Provost
Texas Southern	Provost & Sr. Vice Pres for Acad Affairs
Toledo, U of	Assistant Vice President of Acad Affairs
UC, Los Angeles	Exec Vice Chancellor
Washington, U of	Provost & Vice President for Acad Affairs

masters colleges & universities

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Ashland U	Provost
Auburn, Mntgmr	Vice Chancellor of Acad/Student Affairs
Bowie S U	Assoc Provost/Dean Grad Studs & Research
Cal S, Domingz	Assoc Vice President & Dean Grad Studies
Cal S, LngBch	Exec Asst to Sr V Chanc, Acad Aff
Cal S, LosAncls	Assoc Vice President of Acad Affairs
Cal S Polytech	Vice President for Acad Affairs
Cal S Polytech	Assoc Vice President for Acad Programs
Cntrl Missouri S	Assistant VP Acad Affairs/Dean Grad Stud
Cntrl Washngtn	Assoc Vice President for Acad Affairs
IndianaPurdue,FW	Vice Chancellor of Acad Affairs
La Sierra U	Provost
Lincoln U (PA)	Vice President for Acad Affairs
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Mississippi C	Vice President of Acad Affairs
S Carolina S	Assoc Vice President Faculty & Prgrms
Sacred Heart U	Provost & Vice President of Acad Affairs
San Francisco S	Vice President for Acad Affairs/Provost
Seattle Pacific U	Provost
Tarleton S U	Provost and Vice President for Acad Affairs
Texas, El Paso	Provost & Vice President of Acad Affairs
Towson S U	Assoc Vice President for Acad Affairs
Truman S U	Vice President of Acad Affairs
W Georgia C	Vice President of Acad Affairs

baccalaureate (liberal arts) colleges I

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Gordon C (MA)	Provost
Monmouth C	Vice President Acad Affairs & Dean Fac
N Carolina, Ashv	Vice Chancellor Acad Affairs
Virginia Wesleyan	Vice President Acad Affairs/Dean Col
Wesleyan U	Assistant Provost

baccalaureate colleges II

Dickinson S	Vice President for Acad Affairs
N Carolina Wslyn	Vice President Acad Affairs & Dean Col
Ohio Dominican	Vice President for Acad Affairs
Peru S C	Vice President of Acad Affairs
Seton Hill C	Vice President Acad Affairs & Dean College
Tougaloo C	Vice President of Acad Affairs

DEANS

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Alabama, Tscsa	Dean of Communication
Arizona, Tucson	Dean College of Architecture
Baylor U	Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
Boston U	Dean Metropolitan College
Clark Atlanta	Dean of Grad Studies
Clark Atlanta	Dean, Sch of Social Work
Cleveland S U	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Denver, U of	Dean Graduate Schl Social Work
Duquesne U	Dean of Education
Illinois, Chicago	Dean of the Honors College
Illinois S U	Assoc Dean Undergrad Stds & Dir U Col
Johns Hopkins	Assoc Dean Research, Sch Arts & Sci
Maryland, CollPk	Dean of College of Arts & Humanities
Mass, Lowell	Dean of Sciences
Miami, U of	Dean Grad School International Studies
Michigan S U	Dean Col Communicatn/Arts/Sci
Michigan S U	Dean of College of Natural Science
Minnesota, Twnc	Dean of College of Liberal Arts
Montana S U	Assoc Dean, College of Technology
N Arizona U	Dean College Creative/Communicative Arts
N Carolina, ChpH	Dean of the Graduate School
N Carolina, ChpH	Dean School of Education
N Dakota S U	Dean, College of Humanities & Social Sci
New Mexico, Uof	Dean of Arts & Sciences
NewHmpshire, Uof	Dean of Life Sciences & Agriculture
Ohio U	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Ohio U	Dean of College of Communication
Oklahoma, U of	Dean of Arts & Sciences
Oklahoma, U of	Dean of College of Liberal Studies
Old Dominion U	Dean of College of Arts & Letters
Oregon, U of	Dean of Architecture
Pepperdine U	Dean, School of Public Policy
Purdue U	Dean of School of Liberal Arts
Rensselaer Poly	Dean Sch Humanities & Social Sci
Rice U	Dean of Social Sciences
Rutgers, NBrun	Dean of Douglass College
S Florida, U of	Dean of Graduate Studies
Stevens Tech	Dean of Applied Sci & Liberal Arts
Syracuse U	Dean Col Engineering & Computer Sci
Temple U	Dean Sch Communication/Theater

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We have listed only those positions in academic administration most likely to interest the readers of *Lingua Franca*, who are in the great majority faculty, administrators, and scholars working in fields related to the liberal arts and sciences at four-year colleges and universities, and who themselves comprise a rich pool of potential applicants to these positions. We have not included positions which exclusively concern agriculture, business administration and management, education, engineering, law, library administration, or medicine and health.

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 Texas, Dallas Dean of School of Social Sciences
 Texas, Dallas Dean of School of Arts & Humanities
 Tulane U Dean University College
 UC, Berkeley Dean of Environmental Design
 UC, Irvine Dean, Sch of Humanities
 UC, Irvine Dean, School of Humanities
 UC, Los Angeles Dean of School of Arts
 UC, Los Angeles Dean of School of Public Policy
 UC, San Diego Dean School of International Relations
 Virginia Cmnwlth Dean of School of Arts
 Wichita S U Director, Wall Sch of Urban & Public Aff
 Wright S U Dean of Education/Human Services

masters colleges & universities

Alabama A & M Dean of School of Arts & Sciences
 Alfred U Dean of College of Ceramics
 Angelo S U Dean of Graduate School
 Arkansas, Ltrk Dean Arts, Humanities & Social Sci
 Berry C Dean School of Mathematical & Natural Sci
 Bowie S U Dean, Sch of Arts & Sciences
 Bowie S U Dean, University College of Excellence

Cal Polytech Dean of Architecture & Environ'l Design
 Cal S, Fullerton Dean of Communications
 Cal S, Fullerton Dean, Human Devel/Community Serv
 Cal S, LosAngeles Dean of Natural/Social Sciences
 Cal S, LosAngeles Dean, School of Arts and Letters
 Cal S Polytech Dean Sch Educ & Integrated Studies
 Cal S, Stanislaus Dean, College of Arts, Letters, and Sciences
 Cntrl Washngtn Dean of College of Arts & Humanities
 CUNY, Brooklyn Dean of Undergraduate Studies
 CUNY, City C Dean, Division of Science
 CUNY, City C Dean, Division of Humanities
 CUNY, City C Dean, Division of Social Science
 Francis Marion U Dean of Arts & Sciences
 Francis Marion U Dean of Education, Behav, Soc Sci
 Goddard C Dean for Learning
 Grambling S U Dean of School of Graduate Studies
 IndianaPurdu,FW Dean of Fine/Performing Arts
 Mankato S U Dean of Education
 Mass, Dartmouth Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
 Michigan, Flint Director of Research
 N Central C Director of Graduate Programs
 Regis C (CO) Dean of Regis College
 Richmond, U of Dean of Jepson Sch of Leadership

Rider U Assoc Dean Westminster Choir C of Rider U
 San Jose S U Dean of School of Social Sciences
 Sul Ross S U Dean of Arts & Sciences
 Tuskegee U Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
 W Chester U Dean of Grad Studies & Sponsored Research
 W Illinois U Dean of College of Arts & Sciences
 Webster U [NTG] Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

baccalaureate (liberal arts) colleges I

Bryn Mawr C Assistant Dean of the College
 Gordon C (MA) Assoc Acad Dean
 Holy Cross, C of Dean of College
 Mills C Dean of Fine Arts
 Smith C Dean of the College

baccalaureate colleges II

Cazenovia C Dean of the College
 Kansas Newman Dean of Undergraduate Studies
 Maine, Frmngtn Dean of Education, Health & Rehabilitation
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- ☐ Guardian of faculty tenure
- ☐ Advocate for shared governance

Faculty are under attack on many fronts. Boards and state legislature are calling for weakening of tenure through establishment of punitive post-tenure reviews. Full-time lines disappear as part-time appointments explode. New Ph.D's must work on the margins of the profession before finding tenure-track jobs. As their achievements in teaching and research are diminished, many professors are silent. More than 43% of all faculty members are part-time.

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JUNIOR HIRINGS, BY DISCIPLINE AND GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	
Arizona, U of	Carroll, John	N Carolina S U	Stanford U	Mancosu, Paolo	UC, Berkeley	Cornell U	Zimmerman, Frank	Rutgers, NBruns	
Boston U	Rothenberg, David	New Jersey Tech	Stanford U	van Norden, Brian	Vassar C	Delaware, U of	Waite, Matthew	Gettysburg C	
Brown U	Chambers, Jean	SUNY, Oswego	SUNY, Albany	Michael, Mark	Austin Peay S	Florida S U	Kilibarda-Dalafave, S.	Trenton S C	
Catholic U Amer	Sweeney, Michael	Xavier U	SUNY, Bngmtn	Tyler, Alexandra	Grand Valley S	Georgia, U of	Wang, Xiao-Jun	Georgia Southern	
Chicago, U of	Kamtekar, Rachana	Williams C	SUNY, Stry Brk	Andrew, Barbara	Montana, U of	Harvard U	Carlson, Eric	Wake Forest U	
Chicago, U of	Marino, Gordon	St Olaf C	SUNY, Stry Brk	Clarke, James	Bucknell U	Harvard U	Collett, Jeffrey	Lawrence U	
Chicago, U of	Rosenthal, Michael	Grinnell C	SUNY, Stry Brk	Naser, Curtis	Fairfield U	Harvard U	Conrad, Janet	Columbia U	
Chicago, U of	Shelley, James	Augustana C (IL)	SUNY, Stry Brk	Zakin, Emily	Miami U, Oxford	Harvard U	Radzhovsky, Leo	Colorado, Bldr	
Chicago, U of	Taylor, Jacquelin	Tufts U	Syracuse U	Gennaro, Rocco	Indiana S U	Harvard U	Selinger, Robin L.	Catholic U Amer	
Colorado, Bldr	Gibson, Kevin W.	Marquette U	Syracuse U	O'Leary-Hawthorne, J.	Arizona S U	Harvard U	Sohn, Lydia Lee	Princeton U	
Columbia U	Alleva, Ernest	Smith C	Texas, Austin	Gifford, Mark	Virginia Tech	Illinois, Urbana	Castro Neto, Antonio	UC, Riverside	
Columbia U	Goldberg, Sanford	Grinnell C	UC, Berkeley	Daukas, Nancy	Guilford C	Illinois, Urbana	Tsui, Frank	N Carolina, ChpH	
Columbia U	Hahn, Susan	Hampshire (NTG)	UC, Berkeley	Siewert, Charles	Miami, U of	Indiana U	Opper, Allena	Ohio U	
Columbia U	Kerstein, Samuel	Maryland, CollPk	UC, Davis	Matera, Kathryn	John Carroll U	Indiana U	Pickar, Mark	Muhlenberg C	
Columbia U	Piche, Lee	St Thomas, U of	UC, Irvine	Thomasson, Amie	Texas Tech	Indiana U	Vesper, David	Indiana S U	
Cornell U	Denis, Lara	UC, Irvine	UC, Los Angeles	Nelkin, Dana	Florida S U	Johns Hopkins	Gavrin, Andrew	IndianaPurdU,Ind	
Cornell U	Maizten, Stephen	Dalhousie U-CAN	UC, San Diego	Illingworth, Patricia	Northeastern U	Johns Hopkins	Smucker-Hane, Tammy	UC, Irvine	
Cornell U	Pasnau, Robert	St Joseph's (PA)	UC, San Diego	Mendelson, Michael	Lehigh U	Kansas S U	Ali, Rami	Nevada, Reno	
Cornell U	Wedgewood, Ralph	MIT	UC, San Diego	Ortega, Mariana	John Carroll U	Maryland, U of	Pinkas, Alberto	Jersey City S C	
Cornell U	Zupko, Jack	Emory U	UC, San Diego	Scales, Stephen	Towson S U	Mass, Amherst	Praton, Elizabeth	Grinnell C	
CUNY	Dahbour, Omar	Ohio U	Vanderbilt U	McGrew, Timothy	W Michigan U	Mass, U of	Sheldon, Peter	Wake Forest U	
CUNY	Edwards, Michael	Barat C	Virginia, U of	Clark, Robert	Charlston, C of	Michigan, U of	Jenkins, Gregory	Howard U	
DePaul U	Miles, Kevin Thomas	Villanova U	Virginia, U of	Naticchia, Chris	Cal S, SnBrmdno	Michigan, U of	Wang, Halin	Oregon, U of	
Duke U	Freytag, Matthew	Whitman C	Virginia, U of	Voytko, Victoria	S Carolina, Clm	Mississippi, U of	Longley, Nathaniel	Swarthmore C	
Duke U	South, James B.	Marquette U	Wiscnsn, Madsn	Bailey, Storm M.	Luther C	MIT	Sprague, Mark	E Carolina U	
Emory U	Reichberg, Gregory	Fordham U	Wiscnsn, Madsn	Mooney, Patrick J.	John Carroll U	MIT	Shapiro, Steven	Guilford C	
Harvard U	Franks, Paul Walter	Indiana, Blmngtn	Wiscnsn, Madsn	Saidel, Eric	SW Louisiana	N Carolina S U	Moyer, Patrick	CUNY, Brooklyn	
Harvard U	Kelly, Erin	Tufts U	Yale U	Cormack, Margaret	Charleston, C of	N/A	Brainerd, Tereasa	Boston U	
Illinois, U of	Brand, Peggy Zeglin	Indiana, Blmngtn	Yale U	Halberstam, Michael	S Carolina, Clm	N/A	Hsu, Stephen D. H.	Yale U	
Illinois, U of	Richardson, Alan	Br Columbia-CAN	AUSTRL-La Trobe			Ohio S U	Herbert, Steven	Xavier U	
Illinois, Urbana	Vaughan, William	Ashland U	CAN-Alberta	Neander, Karen	Johns Hopkins	Oregon	Weiner, Richard	Pacific U	
Iowa, U of	Kelley, Andrew K.	Luther C	CAN-Alberta	Sabstly, Edric	Texas, Dallas	Penn S U	Cline, Christopher	Westminster (UT)	
Iowa, U of	Schmidt, Kathleen	Ohio S U	CAN-Calgary, U of	Janowski, James	Hampden-Sydney	Penn, U of	Pate, Stephen	New Mexico S U	
Johns Hopkins	Urbach, Thomas	SUNY, Bngmtn	CAN-Toronto, U of	Landry, Lorraine Y.	Marquette U	Penn, U of	Warnecke, Kurt	Emory U	
Liberty U	Penner, Myron	Liberty U	CAN-Toronto, U of	Ross, Michael	Dallas, U of	Princeton U	Akenrib, Daniel	Case Western Res	
Louisiana S U	Howard, Leigh Anne	Spalding U	CAN-Toronto, U of	Russ, John	Penn S U	Princeton U	Ruhl, John	UC, St Barbara	
Loyola U	Brincat, Cynthia	Youngstown S	CAN-Toronto, U of	Varzi, Achille	Columbia U	Princeton U	Statler, Tom	Ohio U	
Loyola U	Wizba, Norman	Georgetown C	CAN-W Ontario	Easton, Patricia	Claremont Grad	Princeton U	Thompson, C.	N Carolina, ChpH	
Luther C	Yaquib, Aladdin	New Mexico, U of				Purdue U	Huang, Huan	UC, Los Angeles	
Marquette U	Jensen, Kipton	Nazareth C	CIS-Acad Sci	Nikulin, Dimitri	New School	Rutgers U	Cooper, Marie Anselm	Immaculata C	
Mass, Amherst	Davidson, Jack	Drew U	GER-Frankfurt, U of	Lafont, Cristina	Northwestern U	S Alabama, U of	Croft, Paul	Jackson S U	
Mass, U of	Blackson, Thomas	Arizona S U				Stanford U	Dessau, Daniel	Colorado, Bldr	
Mass, U of	Lombardo, Jerry	Springfield C	ITL-Milan	Borradori, Giovanna	Vassar C	Stanford U	Jacobsen, Robert	UC, Berkeley	
Mass, U of	Maconald, Amie	Hamilton C				Texas Christian U	Reese, Terrence	Swarthmore C	
Michigan, U of	Brown, Lee	Howard U	S AFR-CapeTown	Benatar, David	Charlston, C of	Texas, Dallas	Carroll, James	Youngstown S	
Michigan, U of	D'Arms, Justin	Ohio S U				Texas, Dallas	Criss, Robert	RandolphMcWmn	
Minnesota, U of	Potter, Nancy	Louisville, U of				Texas, U of	Burdick, Gary	La Sierra U	
Minnesota, U of	Pratt, Scott	Oregon, U of				Texas, U of	Ramseyer, Tod	Cntrl Arkansas	
MIT	Koslicki, Kathrin	New Orleans, U of	SPN-Murcia	Sanchez, Juan J.	P Rico, Mayag	UC	Donnelly, Thomas	Swarthmore C	
MIT	Stanley, Jason	Cornell U				UC, Berkeley	Bolton, Sarah	Williams C	
MIT	Szabo, Zoltan	Cornell U	UK-Glasgow	Phillips, John	Springfield C	UC, Berkeley	Budker, Dmitry	UC, Berkeley	
N Carolina, ChpH	Holtman, Sarah	Minnesota, TwinC	UK-London, U of	Davies, Brian	Fordham U	UC, Berkeley	Carlstrom, John Eric	Chicago, U of	
N Carolina, ChpH	Riggs, Wayne	Oklahoma, U of	UK-London, U of	Hochsman, Hyun	Jersey City S C	UC, Berkeley	Deutsch, Ivan	New Mexico, U of	
N Carolina, ChpH	Spurgin, Earl W.	John Carroll U	UK-Oxford	Pojman, Louis	US Military Acad	UC, Berkeley	Goedde, Christopher	DePaul U	
N Carolina, U of	Gill, Michael	Purdue U	UK-Oxford	McCarty, David C.	Indiana, Blmngtn	UC, Berkeley	McCullough, Peter	Illinois, Urbana	
N/A	Visser, Sandra	US Military Acad				UC, Berkeley	Singh, Kanwal	Wellesley C	
Northwestern U	Fulmer, Barbara	Denison U				UC, Berkeley	Taylor, Washington	Princeton U	
Northwestern U	Heckman, Peter	Nebraska Wslyn				UC, Berkeley	Willick, Jeffrey A.	Stanford U	
Northwestern U	Horvitz, Lee	Miami U, Oxford				UC, Berkeley	Winer, Brian	Columbia U	
Northwestern U	Moore, Darrell	DePaul U				UC, Davis	Folkerts, Timothy J.	Luther C	
Notre Dame, U of	Hurley, Timothy	Furman U				UC, Davis	Kinter, Jessica	Lawrence U	
Notre Dame, U of	Davison, Scott	Morehead S U				UC, Irvine	Hu, Xin-Hua	E Carolina U	
Notre Dame, U of	Murphy, Mark C.	Georgetown U				UC, Los Angeles	Strauss, Michael	Oklahoma, U of	
Penn, U of	Bulhof, Johannes	Gettysburg C				UC, Riverside	Johnston, Martin	St Thomas, U of	
Pittsburgh, U of	Bartha, Paul	Br Columbia-CAN				UC, Santa Cruz	Holtzman, Jon	New Mexico S U	
Pittsburgh, U of	Darby, Derrick	Northwestern U				UC, St Barbara	Flatte, Michael	Iowa, U of	
Pittsburgh, U of	Kukla, Rebecca	Oregon, U of				Vanderbilt U	Affaigato, Mario	Coe C	
Pittsburgh, U of	Vasilou, Iakovos	Georgia S U				Virginia, U of	Cox, Anne	Eckerd C	
Princeton U	Barney, Rachel	Ottawa, U of-CAN				Washington S U	Frederickson, Carl	Cntrl Arkansas	
Princeton U	Doring, Frank	Cincinnati, U of				Washington U	Adolph, Natalie	Knox C	
Princeton U	Overton, H. Lee	Wake Forest U				Washington, U of	Johnson, Calvin	LSU, BatonRoug	
Princeton U	Segvic, Heda	UC, St Barbara				Yale U	Mathur, Harsh	Case Western Res	
Princeton U	Zynda, Lyle	Indiana, S Bend				Yale U	McCormack, Elizabeth	Bryn Mawr C	
Rice U	Khushf, George	S Carolina, Clm				Yale U	Papavassiliou, Vasilios	New Mexico S U	
Rutgers U	Margolis, Eric	Rice U							
Rutgers U	Warfield, Ted	Notre Dame, U of							
S Baptist Theol	Hildreth, T. Perry	Palm Beach Atlantic C							
S California, U of	Anderson, Jami	Cntrl Arkansas							
S Illinois U	Magada-Ward, Mary	Mdi Tennessee							

In the PHILOSOPHY TENURINGS column of our January/February '96 issue, we incorrectly listed the institution at which Eileen O'Neill was recently tenured. She was tenured at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

JOBTRACKS

JUNIOR hirings, BY DISCIPLINE AND GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
CIS-Acad of Sci	Agrest, Mikhail	Charlston, C of	Duke U	Vinson, Christain	Furman U	Notre Dame, U of	De Laet, Debra	Drake U
GER-Erlangen, U of	Burkardt, Matthias	New Mexico S U	Fordham U	Schaeffer, Denise	Holy Cross, C of	Notre Dame, U of	Borer, Tristan	Connecticut C
JPN-Tokyo	Murayama, Hitoshi	UC, Berkeley	G Washington U	Everingham, Mark	Wiscnsn, GrnB	Ohio S U	Aubrey, Lisa	Ohio U
NDL-Utrecht	Schoudens, Carolus	Princeton U	George Mason U	Rogers, Modestine	Pace, Pleasant	Ohio S U	Geva, Nehemia	Texas A&M U
UK-Sussex, U of	Melikechi, Novreddine	Delaware S U	Georgia, U of	Reese, Catherine	New Mexico S U	Ohio S U	Golebiowska, Ewa	Tufts U
			Georgia, U of	Selden, Sally	Oklahoma, U of	Ohio S U	Lopeman, Charles	W Georgia C
			Georgia, U of	Weilhauer, Peter	Spelman C	Ohio S U	McGuire, Kevin	N Carolina, ChpH
			Harvard U	Berman, Sheri	Princeton U	Ohio S U	Pavri, Tina	Spelman C
			Harvard U	Lane, Philip	Columbia U	Ohio S U	Snarr, Michael	Wheeling Jesuit
			Harvard U	Ramachandran, Vijaya	Duke U	Oklahoma, U of	Rosenthal, Lucinda	Oklahoma, U of
			Harvard U	Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn	Princeton U	Penn, U of	Kosowski, Rey	Rutgers, Newark
			Houston, U of	Garbrah-Aidoo, Elizabeth	James Madison	Pittsburgh, U of	Ross, Fiona	Bucknell U
			Houston, U of	Huerta, Carlos	TexasA&M, CrpsC	Princeton U	Euben, Roxanne	S Carolina, Clm
			Illinois, U of	Yoho, James	Wilkes C	Princeton U	Gregg, Benjamin	Texas, Austin
			Indiana U	Layman, Geoffrey	S Mississippi, U of	Princeton U	Hardy, Christianne	Fordham U
			Indiana U	Carsey, Thomas	Illinois, Chicago	Princeton U	Moore, Thomas	Cincinnati, U of
			Indiana U	Dugas, John	Kalamazoo C	Princeton U	Moser, Robert	Texas, Austin
			Iowa, U of	Fastnow, Christina	Wellesley C	Rice U	Young, Garry	Missouri, Clmb
			Iowa, U of	Rogers, James	Texas A&M U	Rochester, U of	Feng, Yi	Claremont Grad
			Iowa, U of	Steger, Wayne P.	Marquette U	Rutgers U	Steger, Manfred	Whitman C
			Johns Hopkins	Morrison, Donna R.	Georgetown U	S California, U of	Green, William	Cal S, SnBrndno
			Johns Hopkins	Wuerth, Andrea	Whitman C	S Carolina, U of	Sulfaro, Valerie	James Madison
			Kentucky, U of	Cassie, William	Appalachian S	S Illinois U	Neuby, Barbara	W Georgia C
			Kentucky, U of	Goedel, Robert	Indiana S U	Stanford U	Caldwell, Michael	Illinois, Urbana
			Maryland, U of	Audley, John	Purdue U	Stanford U	Gaines, Brian	Illinois, Urbana
			Mass, U of	Belanger, Joseph Marc	St Mary's (IN)	Stanford U	Wood, Elizabeth	New York U
			Michigan, AnAr	Barrington, Lowell W.	Marquette U	SUNY, Buffalo	Danilovic, Vesna	Texas A&M U
			Michigan, U of	Anderson, Leslie	Florida, Gnsvl	SUNY, Stry Brk	Best, Samuel	Notre Dame, Uof
			Michigan, U of	Beamer, Glenn	Virginia, U of	SUNY, Stry Brk	Steenbergen, Marco	N Carolina, ChpH
			Michigan, U of	Crisp, Brian	Arizona, Tucson	Tennessee, Knox	Wright, Sharon	Missouri, Clmb
			Michigan, U of	Gilman, Theodore	Union C (NY)	Texas A & M U	Berke, Phillip	N Carolina, ChpH
			Michigan, U of	Mendelberg, Tali	Princeton U	Texas A & M U	Andersson, Angela	Loyola, Chicago
			Michigan, U of	Shaw, Todd	Illinois, Urbana	Texas A & M U	Knight, Aaron	Texas A&M U
			Minnesota, U of	Bird, Karen	McMaster U-CAN	Texas, Austin	DeSpiri, Louis	Illinois, Urbana
			Minnesota, U of	Hochstetler, Kathryn	Colorado S U	Texas, Austin	Layton, Azza	DePaul U
			Minnesota, U of	Rahn, Wendy	Minnesota, Twnc	Texas, Dallas	Ellis, Margaret	James Madison
			MIT	Alter, Karen	Smith C	Texas Tech	Waters, Frances	Texas A&M U
			MIT	Conaway, Carol	Holy Cross, C of	Tulsa, U of	Westcott, Rick	Oral Roberts U
			MIT	Cruz, Consuelo	Columbia U	UC	Tuman, John	Texas Tech
			MIT	Lever, Annabelle	Rochester, U of	UC, Berkeley	Bullock, Robert	Cornell U
			N/A	Fish, Steven	UC, Berkeley	UC, Berkeley	Burke, Tom	Wellesley C
			N/A	Houantchekon, L.	Yale U	UC, Berkeley	Connolly, Barbara	Tufts U
			N/A	Ketter, Ronald	Texas, El Paso	UC, Berkeley	Freeman, Laurie	UC, St Barbara
			N/A	Pollack, Mark	Wiscnsn, Madsn	UC, Berkeley	Gelobter, Michel	Rutgers, Newark
			Nebraska, Lincoln	Ahuja, Sunil	SW Louisiana	UC, Berkeley	Gorges, Michael	Maryland, BaltCntry
			New Orleans, U of	Meinhold, Stephen	N Carolina, Wlm	UC, Berkeley	Heller, Patrick	Columbia U
			New School	Holland, Catherine	Missouri, Clmb	UC, Berkeley	Kampwirth, Karen	Knox C
			New York U	Felice, William	Eckerd C	UC, Berkeley	Kang, David	Dartmouth C
			New York U	Fleischer, Lawrence	CUNY, City C	UC, Berkeley	Portillo, Gregory	Arizona S West
			New York U	Mirabella, Roseanne	Seton Hall U	UC, Berkeley	Sraal, Rein	William Jewell C
			New Western U	Kharrak, Asad Jan	N Carolina, ChpH	UC, Berkeley	Woodruff, David	MIT
			Northwestern U	Mwanasali, Musifiki	Sarah Lawrence	UC, Los Angeles	Halisi, C.R.D.	S California, U of

POLITICAL SCIENCE

American U	Crewson, Philip	Cincinnati, U of
American U	DeSantis, Victor	Bridgewater S
Arizona S U	Clifford, Mary	Appalachian S
Arizona S U	Ibitayo, Olurominayi	Jackson S U
Binghamton U	Barbieri, Katherine	N Texas, U of
Boston C	McHugh, Mary	Merrimack C
Brandeis U	Paris, Michael F.	Duquesne U
Brandeis U	Tichenor, Daniel J.	Rutgers, NBrns
Brigham Yng U	Jacoby, Wade	Grinnell C
Cal Tech	Fey, Mark	Princeton U
Chicago, U of	Bo, Zhiyue	Roosevelt U
Chicago, U of	Brand, Donald	Holy Cross, C of
Chicago, U of	Cheibub, Jose	Penn, U of
Chicago, U of	Davies, Ann	Kenyon C
Chicago, U of	Horton, Carol	Macalester C
Chicago, U of	Lopez, Juan	Illinois, Chicago
Chicago, U of	Mattli, Walter	Columbia U
Chicago, U of	Nadon, Christopher	Trinity C (CT)
Chicago, U of	Spiliotes, Constantie	Dartmouth C
Chicago, U of	Wang, Huiyun	Emory & Henry C
Claremont Grad	Crummy, Paul	Cntrl Connecticut
Claremont Grad	Pestritto, Ronald	Dallas, U of
Claremont Grad	Demarais, Nancy L.	Luther C
Colorado, Bldr	Atkeson, Lonna	New Mexico, Uof
Colorado, U of	Squires, Josephine	Fort Hays S U
Columbia U	Cronin, Bruce	Wiscnsn, Madsn
Columbia U	Elman, Miriam Fendius	Arizona S U
Columbia U	Harrison, Hope	Lafayette C
Columbia U	Keck, Margaret	Johns Hopkins
Columbia U	Keyser, Catherine	Drew U
Columbia U	McNamara, Karyhleen	Princeton U
Connecticut, U of	Taylor, Andrew	N Carolina S U
Cornell U	Adams, Frances	Old Dominion U
Cornell U	Ash, Amy	Oregon, U of
Cornell U	Caputi, Mary	Cal S, LngBch
Cornell U	Leaman, David	Bucknell U
Delaware, U of	Martinez, Cecilia	Metropolitan S U
Denver, U of	Campbell, Patricia	W Georgia C
Duke U	Paolino, Philip	Texas, Austin

THIS ISSUE: Philosophy through Spanish/Portuguese Languages & Literatures. OUR RECENT ISSUES (March/April): Afro-Am/Ethnic/Women's Studies, Area Studies, Art/Art History/Architecture, Anthropology/Archeology/Folklore, Asian Languages & Literatures, Biology/Environmental Studies, Chemistry/Biochemistry, Classics, Communication/Journalism, Comparative Literature, Computer Science, Drama/Dance/Film/Video, and Economics. (May/June): English/American Languages & Literatures, French/Italian Languages & Literatures, Geography, Geology, History/American Studies.

THESE TABLES reflect our final listing of first-time hirings to full-time junior positions effective as of the '95-'96 academic year in the liberal arts and sciences at more than 500 four-year colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. In the fall we will begin to list hirings and tenurings taking effect as of the '96 academic term.

The tables should be read as follows: the institution in the third column hired for the first time the individual in the second column to a full-time junior position. (It may not be the first junior position the individual has gotten.) The individual received graduate training at the institution in the first column.

Though most of these hirings are to multi-year, tenure-track contracts, many are for one-year positions only.

Information about graduate training was in most cases obtained either from the hiring institution or from the individual. This information has not been double-checked in all cases with each training institution. "N/A" means this information was not available at press time.

Where we have a campus name (e.g. "Illinois, Urbana"), we use it. But someone

trained there might just as well be listed under the general university name (e.g., "Illinois, U of").

['96] means this action will take effect as of the '96-'97 academic term. [NTG] means this hiring institution is partially or completely non-tenure-granting.

WE INVITE our readers to help make JOBTRACKS an even more comprehensive reference tool, in the following ways: PLEASE LET US KNOW if one of our items is in error, on the stationery of the hiring department, specifying your name and title. DEANS AND ADMINISTRATORS: If your institution isn't represented and should be, write or call us to request the appropriate form. FACULTY MEMBERS: If your name isn't here and should be, ascertain who in your administration or news office both has this information for the liberal arts and sciences, and is willing to part with it. Give us the person's name and title, and your name and title. Note that we are not listing first-time hirings to those senior positions that are probationary (e.g. associate professor without tenure). CONTACT US either by writing to the Jobtracks Desk, Lingua Franca, 22 West 38th St - 4th Fl, New York NY 10018, or by faxing us at 212-302-0847. You may email us with "JOBTRACKS" on the subject line, via the internet: 76200.414@compuserve.com

LINGUA FRANCA goes to great effort to insure that our data is accurate and as complete as possible. However, we know that JOBTRACKS is, as we go to press, incomplete and still not free from all errors. Consequently, we cannot be responsible for errors and omissions, and readers are advised not to act on any of this information without verifying it.

JOBTRACKS

JUNIOR HIRINGS, BY DISCIPLINE AND GRADUATE TRAINING

TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY	TRAINED BY	NAME	HIRED BY
UC, Los Angeles	James, Scott	UC, Los Angeles	Duke U	May, Cynthia	Arizona, Tucson	Ohio, Athens	Breitenbecher, Kimberly	Ohio S, Newark
UC, Los Angeles	Walsh, Virginia	Rutgers, Newark	Duke U	Murphy, Laura	Otterbein C	Ohio S U	Edwards, John	Oregon S U
UC, Riverside	Thomas, Susan	Hollins C	Duke U	Stout, Julie Camille	Indiana, Blmngtn	Ohio S U	Gannon, Katherine	Texas Tech
UC, San Diego	Katz, Jonathan	Cal Tech	Duke U	Swithers, Susan	Purdue U	Ohio S U	Ingram, Kathleen	Virginia Cmnwld
UC, San Diego	Raustiala, Kal	Brandeis U	Florida S U	Krull, Kevin	Houston, U of	Ohio S U	Mohammed, Susan	Penn S U
UC, San Diego	Reynolds, Lisa	Arizona S U	Fordham U	Koplik, Eussa	Bloomfield C	Ohio S U	Quigley, Karen	Penn S U
UC, San Diego	Saideman, Stephen	Texas Tech	Georgia S U	Pugh, James	Georgia Southern	Oklahoma S U	Lewin, Michael	Cal S, SnBrndno
UC, St Barbara	Fox, Richard	Wyoming, U of	Georgia S U	Terry, Rebecca	Georgia Southern	Oklahoma, U of	Marrero, Abner	William Jewell C
UC, St Barbara	Koch, Andrew	Appalachian S	Georgia, U of	Kuzenski, John	SE Louisiana U	Oregon, U of	Curran, Timothy	Case Western Res
Utah, U of	Jones, Steven	Charltn, U of [NTG]	Georgia, U of	Noves, Caroline	Oglethorpe U	Penn S U	Manke, Beth	Houston, U of
Virginia Tech	Schuhmann, Robert	Wyoming, U of	Harvard U	Hall, Geoffrey	Br Columbia-CAN	Penn S U	Rende, Richard D.	Rutgers, NBrns
Virginia, U of	Bookmiller, Robert	LebanonValley	Harvard U	Marsoler [96], Chad	Minnesota, TwnC	Penn, U of	Haidt, Jonathan D.	Virginia, U of
Virginia, U of	Steenburgh, Charles	Virginia Military	Harvard U	Park, Sohee	Northwestern U	Pittsburgh, U of	Johnson, Sheri	Mianu, U of
Virginia, U of	Thou, Lee	Longwood C	Hofstra U	Hittner, James	Charlston, C of	Pittsburgh, U of	Reed, Robert	Carlow C
Washington S U	Giacomazzi, Andrew	Texas, El Paso	Illinois, U of	Fitzgerald, Pam	Pacific, U of the	Princeton U	Chalfonte, Barbara	Mt Holyoke C
Washington U	Buterbaugh, Kevin	NW Missouri S	Illinois, U of	Phillips, Ruby	CUNY, Lehman	Princeton U	Oleson, Kathryn	Reed C
Washington U	Corder, Kevin	W Michigan U	Illinois, Urbana	Schneider, Kimberly	Texas, El Paso	Purdue U	Harper, Gary	DePaul U
Washington U	Hessenins, Charles	Grinnell C	Indiana S U	Mallory, Danne	St Mary of Woods	Purdue U	Zook, Joan	Wheeling Jesuit
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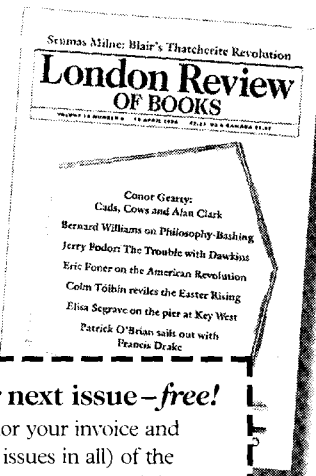
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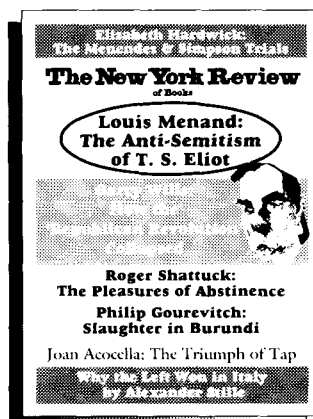
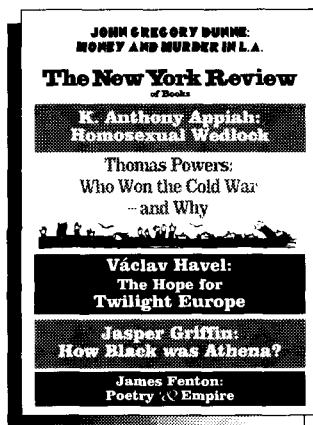
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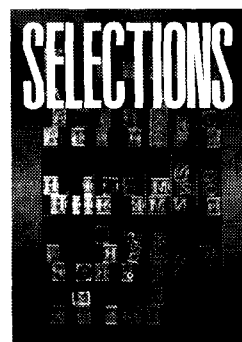
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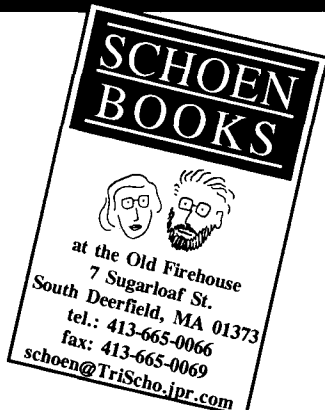
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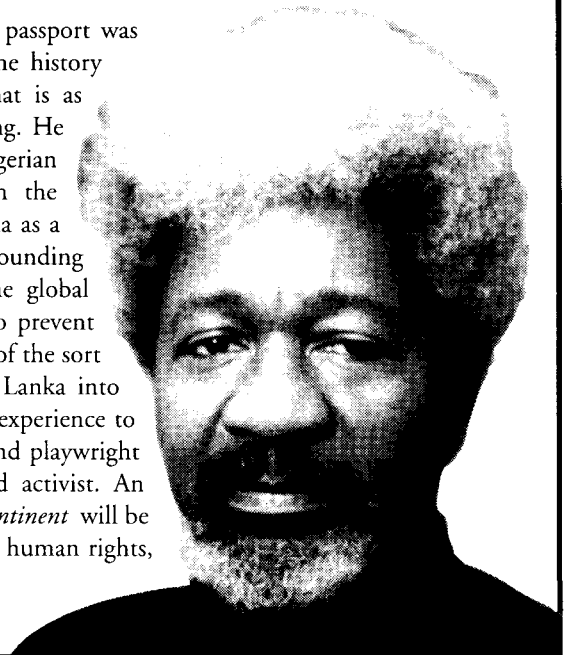
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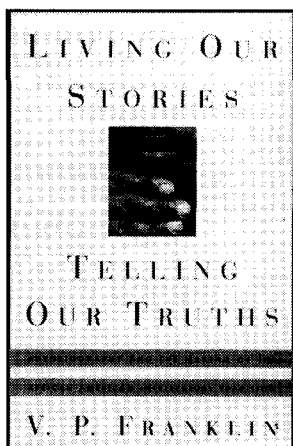
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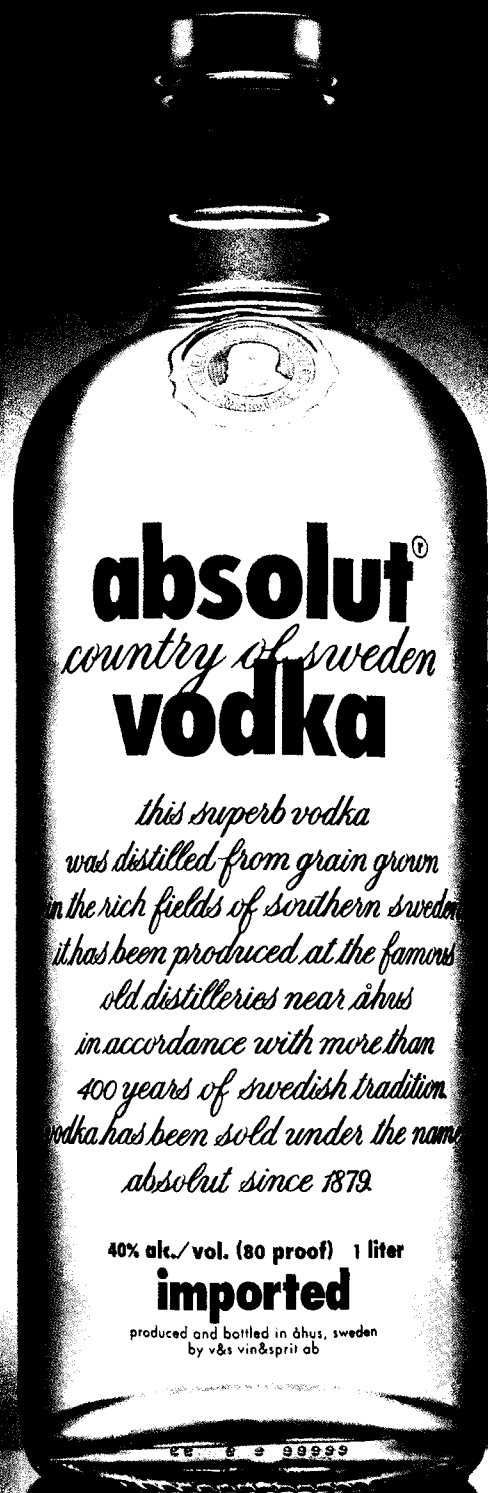


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